

Very THE Roberts a
SECOND PART
OF THE
Nonconformists Plea
FOR
PEACE.

Being an *ACCOUNT* of their Principles about Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority and obedience, (as far as the Author knoweth it), and about Things Indifferent, and evil by Accident or Scandal: and what their Nonconformity is not: and whether the Ministers encourage Sects and Schism: With their judgements and earnest desires of the Churches Peace and Concord, and the true and necessary means.

Mostly written many years past, and now published to save our Lives and the Kingdoms Peace, from the false and bloody Plotters, who would first perswade the King and people that the Protestants and particularly the Nonconformists are Presbyterians and Fanaticks; and next that it was such Presbyterians that killed his Father; and next that our Principles are rebellious; and next that we are plotting a rebellion and his death; and lastly that this is the genius of the Parliament; and therefore that they and we must be used as enemies to the King.

By RICHARD BAXTER.

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THE PREFACE.

THese Papers were written some of them in 1668. and some since, when the Nonconformists Judgement of the Interest of Reason in Religion was printed, with but 15. subscribed names: Those about Grace and Morality, and Things indifferent, and what our Nonconformity is not, were also perused by many and consented to (of whom Doctor Manton, Mr. Sanger and Mr. Bedford are since dead) and with that of Scandal were printed many years ago. But my prudent friends persuaded me to lay them by, (though the printing cost dear) partly as not sufficiently elaborate and accurate, and partly lest any defence should but exasperate our (then) afflictors, and occasion more wrath and unpeaceable writings. This Counsel I have till now obeyed: But seeing such as the Counterminer, the Popish Dialogue, and many others, continuing loudly to accuse us, and make men believe that we are plotting a new war, and that our Principles are rebellious, and remembering what a suspicion of us is left on record in the Oxford Act of Confinement, and hearing by the Published Narratives of Oates, Bedlow, Prance, Jenison, Smith, Dugdale, and specially Dangerfield, that it was part of the

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the Plot for the destruction of the King, and change of Government and Religion, to make King and People believe that the Presbyterians had such a Plot, and finding so little said to vindicate the Innocent, and lastly finding great reason to think that my change is so near, that I must do it now or never, I durst not die in the guilt of silence. 1. Lest I should betray the King into a belief of this pernicious plotted slander. 2. Lest I should betray the Nation into a self-destroying belief of seditious Liers. 3. Lest I should betray both the Reputation and Lives of many thousand Innocents. What dismal effects must needs follow, if the King should believe that so many of his People and Parliament as are thus accused, are his enemies and seek his hurt? Whilst the odious and horrid usage of his Father is in his memory, who can wonder if he destroy those who he believeth would destroy him?

Therefore though this Book be truly guilty of much defectiveness, disorder, repetitions, being but many Papers written on several occasions, long ago, now set some how hastily together, necessity constraineth me to think that it is better thus than not at all.

I have already published the first part of our Plea, written many years after almost all this: which you must especially observe when you read, What our Nonconformity is not: For then I thought to go no further. That about scandal and evil by accident was written purposely to answer the gross mistaking charge of B. Morley, and the new Ecclesiastical Politician, just when that Book came out; and somewhat occasioned by Mr. Durels Book: Therefore that I am there so distinct as will be troublesome to common readers who love but few words, was loss of the quality and charge of the learned accusers whom I answer.

I thought it time to speak the Truth in how broken a manner soever, when I read that even some that seem to condemn the Papists

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Papists Plotters, do yet publickly joyn us with them, as more dangerous than they, and make our designed Rebellion to be a Necessitating Reason, for doing that against us, against Parliaments, and the Peoples choice of them, which I dread to mention; as if it were necessary to all Loyal Subjects to enter into a League, or subscribed Covenant to save the King from us.

*It is now about twenty years since Dr. Gauden, Mr. Calamy, and my self preached at a Fast to the Parliament for Loyalty, and the King the next morning was voted home to his Crown and Government: and since the Duke of Lauderdale caused the Printing of Mr. Gaches Letter to me for the King. What is it that we have Preached, Printed or done ever since to this day that should bring us under this horrid accusation? Have we been proved guilty before any Judge? Besides Preaching the Gospel (to which we were devoted, and dare not for fear of sacrilege and perfidiousness cast off) what have we done these twenty years against the King or State? Unless it be our crime to live under reproach and scorn and poverty, and sometimes imprisonments, and never once so much as Petition a Parliament either to pity us, or to hear us once speak for our selves, and give us leave to tell them or the Nation the true case and reasons of our Not-Conforming. What is it that we have said or done? and how came our accusers to be so merciful to us as never to call us before the Judicatures, for any thing but Preaching and coming within five miles of Corporations, or some for not communicating with them, which yet other of us never refused? If any odde persons, or whosoever have said or done any thing against the King or Kingdom, or their neighbours right or peace, or have been guilty of any fraud, drunkenness, perjury or immorality, besides their unavoidable Nonconformity, let them be punished as the Law requireth, but let not the Innocent, yea thousands be slandered and designed to destruction for them. But I never yet was by
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any abused, or hurt, but I was accused by them as deserving it.

Our accusations are, 1. That we are Presbyterians and Fanaticks. 2. That we began the War in 1641, and 1642. 3. That we destroyed the King. 4. That our Principles are disloyal. 5. That we are plotting a rebellion. To all these.

1. What a Presbyterian is with these men is to us unsearchable; what he is with those that have written for and against them is easily known; we take Dr. Heylins Description in his History against them: They are such as hold not only Church Government without Bishops (for so do the Independents also) but also by Presbyteries, consisting of two sorts of Elders, Preaching and Ruling (called by some Lay) and over these Classes, and over these a National Assembly, consisting of the same two sorts. Be it known that whiles I disown any thing of this, it is not that I think my self wiser or better than such as I have been acquainted with of that opinion. My own opinion I have oft enough declared, viz. 1. That *Jure Divino*, one Church hath no Governing Power over another. 2. That every particular Political Church should be a society capable of personal presential communion, and have their own Elders to govern them all of one Order and Office, and if each one have a Bishop that shall have a Presidency and Ruling or Negative voice, I shall like it the better, for Antiquity sake, and Unity. 3. That these Churches should keep necessary correspondency for Love, Concord, and mutual helps, by Messengers and Synods of their Bishops or Pastors; but not as Law-makers to their brethren. 4. That it will not be unmeet for the Magistrate, or if he permit it, for the Bishops or Pastors by consent to appoint some of the wisest and gravest and best, to visit and oversee the rest of the Pastors and Churches in several Precincts, so far as to teach the young and ignorant, and exhort them to holy, prudent diligence, and reprove them that are blame-worthy, but not to have the forcing power of the Sword. But

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But it is not my judgment only that is in question, Reader, judge by the proof that I shall offer thee what truth or modesty there is in our accusers.

1. *I have elsewhere told you, when the King called us to signify our desires in 1660. the Ministers of London were commonly invited to come to Sion Colledge that their common consent might be known: And there we agreed to desire or offer nothing for Church Government, but A. B. Ushers model of the Primitive Episcopal Government as it was then Printed (which to me the A. Bishop owned) And was Usher a Presbyterian? What new names have our adversaries made, as Presbyterian A. Bishops and Primates? Are not all the Dioceses, Lordship, Wealth and Power of Bishops secured in that Model, and is that Presbytery?*

2. *Bishop Reignolds, B. Worth, and Dr. Wallis and other Conformists agreed and joyned with us in this Offer. And were these also Presbyterians?*

3. *When his Majesty would not grant us that model, nor the Bishops once treat about it, he was pleased in his gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs to offer and prescribe the Episcopacy of England as it stood, with little alteration, save that the Parish Ministers consent was allowed to the Confirmation of any in his Parish, and the Rural Dean with the Ministers of his Deanery to meet oft for meer Parish persuasive work, to the scandalous. And this Declaration we joyfully and thankfully accepted, as a hopeful means of common Conformity and Concord. And was this Presbytery too?*

4. *That this might might not pass as the private Act of a few, a meeting of the London Ministers was desired to give the King thanks for this Declaration in signification of their consent, which was done, and at that meeting there were but two dissenting Votes, and those two (both dead) professed their thankful acceptance, though they subscribed not.*

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5. Uncontradicted fame told us that the House of Commons gave the King their publick thanks for that his care so to unite his people. And if that House of Commons also were Presbyterians, I know not who is not.

6. And I never heard that any of all these consenting and subscribing Ministers recanted his consent to this day.

7. Nor did I ever hear that any absent Ministers in City or Countrey, sent us any notice that they dissented. Only honest Dr. Conant who now Conformeth, at one meeting said, Our attempts for reconciliation with that party were vain, as to reconcile fire and water.

8. Abundance of Countrey Ministers, (and all that else I heard from) joyfully expressed their approbation of what we did.

9. In all the County of Worcester (where I lived) there was but one Minister (Mr. Tho. Hall of Kings Norton) taken for a Presbyterian from the year 1647, till the King came in, 1660. Nor did I hear of many out of London and Lancashire, that ever set up that Government.

10. I know not of one Congregation in London of English men (the French and Dutch have confessed as pleaders) that exerciseth the Presbyterian Government, nor ever did since the King came home: what they may be in secret judgement I know not, nor how far the experience of our late Prelacy may have changed any; But, 1. Certainly they have no National assembly: 2. They have no Classes: 3. They have no coalition of many Churches to make a Presbytery. 4. And I hear of none (unless perhaps the Independents, which I know not) that have so much as Ruling Lay Elders.

See all this together and tell me, whether it be likely that those men believe a life to come and a judgement of God, who would make King and people believe that Parliaments, Non-conforming Ministers, and their hearers are Presbyterians,

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and so many and so bad as that King and Kingdom are in danger of them.

II. As to the second point of the late War, it's unseasonable here to say any more but this, 1. The King hath said so much for the Act of Oblivion that it's no sign of Loyalty and peace to violate it, 2. Though false reporters say, that the Papists were the Kings party, and the Presbyterians the Parliaments at the beginning of the English war, (not meddling with Scotland and Ireland) the contrary is so well known to men yet living, that the Reporters can hope to seduce none but young men and strangers. I again desire him that would know the truth, but to read Rushworths Collections and Heylins life of Laud, and the names of the Parliament and Lord Lieutenants and Commanders, and ask those what they were that knew them: Heylin will convince you that the quarrel was long growing up between two parties of the Episcopal Church: of which he maketh in Ireland Arch-Bishop Usher the Head, and the Convocation there to follow him; and in England, Arch-Bishop Abbot to be the Head, and Bishop Laud to be the Head of the other party, and a very few Bishops at first to follow him: so that the Church of England and Ireland (if the Convocation be the Church) were on the side that Laud dissented from: And the Parliaments went the way of the Church, as then they called it, and one after another continued accusing the other side, 1. as promoting popery, 2. and Arminianism, 3. and arbitrary absoluteness; against Law, privileges, Liberty and property: And where former Parliaments left, that of 1640. began, and between these two parties of the Church of England it was that the war began, and not between Papists and Presbyterians, (though the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the Papists in Ireland began there). The Papists were but Auxiliaries to the King, and most of the Presbyterians Auxiliaries to the Parliament, long after the beginning of the war. By Gods great mercy there are yet living the truly

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worthy and Right Honourable Lords, the Earl of Bedford first General of the Horse, and the Earl of Radnor, Lord President of his Majesties Council, a Colonel then in the Earl of Essex's Army, and the Lord Wharton (and the Lord Hollis is but lately dead) Ask these faithful Lords yet living whether the Earl of Essex, or any four or five of all his Colonels were Nonconformists, or any two of them Presbyterians ; But of this elsewhere.

III. As to the death of the King, I have in the times of usurpation, proved that the Presbyterians detested it. That it was a proud conquering Army, by the Contrivance of Ol. Cromwel, and the applause of a few fanaticks that did it by the consent of a small part of the old Parliament called The Rump, that durst not trust the King in power: That they could never do it till, 1. They had new modelled the Army, and got out the Earl of Essex's Souldiers, and all the Parliament men save Cromwel ; 2. Till they had first driven away the Eleven accused members ; (Hollis, Stapleton, Maynard, &c.) 3. Till they had got all the Brigades and Garison Souldiers besides disbanded, lest they should resist them. 4. Till they had forcibly imprisoned a great part of the worthiest members of the Parliament, and kept and cast out the most of the House, and left only the foresaid smaller remnant. 5. Till they had conquered the City by sudden surprize, when Massy, Hollis, Brown and others tryed to have armed the City against them. 6. Till they had conquered Scotland, and their Armies. 7. The London Ministers went to the General to charge him to resist it. 8. They printed their abhorrence of it to the world. And Mr. Love was beheaded and others imprisoned and fled beyond Sea. 9. I have reason to believe that Monks Army that restored the King had twenty if not forty times as many Presbyterians in it, as the Earl of Essex's Army had when the war began. 10. The London Presbyterians and Sir Thomas Allen Lord Mayor were

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were they that turned the Scales for the King by inviting Monk and declaring their conjunction with him. 11. What the Presbyterians did with Sir George Booth, and what Ministers were imprisoned for it, and other such things I need not report.

12. As soon as ever the members of the old Parliament were restored, they took effectual care for the Kings restitution: especially the Council which they settled and left. The Right Honourable the Earls of Anglesea, and Shaftesbury, and many others yet living can tell you enough of this: And if you believe not me, besides the forementioned worthy Lords, ask the worthy Master of the Rolls Sir Harbottle Grimstone, and Sir John Maynard his Majesties Serjeant at Law, who were eminent members of the foresaid Parliament, from the beginning, or any other of them yet living, whether the Parliament was Presbyterians and Nonconformists when the war began, or Conformable members of the Church of England; and they can resolve you.

I V. But if all this had been otherwise; must this age answer for their fathers deeds? What's all this to the present Nonconformists, of whom I do not believe there is one of 40 now alive that had any hand in any wars against the King? Are the Hollanders or French guilty of it because they are Presbyterians? If not, why are the English? will Names make men Traytors? If so, do not they make us Traytors who falsely gave us those names? Either they must prove that we hold rebellious principles, or they shew that they do but in Plot accuse us. Therefore I have thought it my duty to give this account of our Principles as far as they are known to me.

In 1649. I wrote a Book called Political Aphorismes, in which, 1. I asserted the Universal Monarchy of God, 2. The Preheminence of Monarchy before Democracy against Mr. Harrington's Oceana, 3. The way to secure a pious Monarchy; 4. And I added the reasons why I then had adhered to the Parliament, out of a desire of conviction if I had

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err'd: But for great Reasons I have since desired that the book be taken as non scriptus. But what I judge undeniable I here declare.

Were sin and madness any wonder in the world, it were a wonder that England is not as happy and concordant a Nation as any under heaven. God hath kept us from tasting of those miserable wars, which have distressed many other Nations: God loudly calleth us to peace; old and sad experience of the mischiefs of war, do call unto all that are in their wits if possible to avoid it. The militant Nations round about us, have left us to sweet peace. But sin, folly and pride, will not consent. How many years have we begged for peace, of those that should have been the preachers and misest promoters of peace, and cannot yet obtain it, nor quiet them that call for fire and sword, not knowing what spirit they are of? A miserable Nation's afraid of confusions, prayeth for the King and all in authority, that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and honesty; and the Declaration about Ecclesiastical affairs telleth us that the King would have given the people Peace: but with unpeaceable Clergymen, no plea, no petition could prevail. The things that have been, are; and the confusions of our age have come from the same causes and sorts of men, as the confusions in former ages did; which in an Abridgement of Church History I have lately opened; we rejoyce with Paul that Christ is preached: but alas, that so many preach him not sincerely, of good will and love, but in envy, strife and contention, to add affliction to the afflicted, Phil. 1. 15, 16, 17, 18. We are all bound, if it be possible, and as much as in us lieth, to live peaceably, ye also follow peace with all men: Rom. 12, 18. Heb. 12. 14. But none are more obliged to it than Princes that must preserve the peoples peace, and Christian Pastors that should preach it.

Mans soul hath three faculties, understanding, will, and executive vital power: The Image of God on these three is 1. holy knowledge, faith or Light, 2. Holy Love, 3. and holy Life.

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The Devils Image is the contrary to these three, 1. In dark ignorance, error and unbelief, 2. In malignant enmity to good things and persons; 3. In deadness to good, and hurtfulness or evil works. Therefore the Devil is described by Christ, 1. As the Prince of darkness and deceit, 2. As the enemy of God and Goodness and good men, and, 3. As a destroyer. And so he is called A Lyar, A malignant enemy and A Murderer. And by these properties his children may be known, whatever they profess.

I unfeignedly declare that I wish no cruelty against Papists, nor any hurt but what the necessary safety of those whom they would hurt requireth. But I must say that their Canons and their writings and practices have had so much of these three properties, Lying, malignity against good men, and hurtfulness and bloody cruelty, that the nature which God hath planted in me, is no more reconcileable to it, than to the life of high-way robbers. And let who will make a prudent trial, and I am confident he will find as I have done, that on whomsoever you find these three Diabolical Symbols or properties, Lying, Malice and Bloody-hurtfulness against men that are most serious and practical Christians, they will prove either open or secret Papists, or by nearness much prepared for them.

Could they be content to forbear DOMINION and BLOODINESS, we might live quietly with them as with other erroneous men. But how can that be hoped for while their Religion essentially is, 1. That all Christian Princes and People on earth, must be the obedient subjects of their Pope, or else be no members of the Church of Christ? 2. That approved General Councils must be believed and obeyed, of which (besides others) that at the Lateran sub Innoc. 3. obligeth all temporal Lords on pain of EXCOMMUNICATION, DEPOSITION and DAMNATION to exterminate all their Protestant subjects
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if they are able, (and other Canons and Decrees are for burning them) And he that understandingly professeth himself a Papist, professeth both these.

As I have here described the judgment of such Nonconformists as I have conversed with (not undertaking for every odd person whom I know not) I do desire those that seek our blood and ruine by the false accusation of Rebellious principles, to tell me if they can [what body or party of men on earth have more sound and Loyal principles of Government and obedience.]

I. If they say the Papists, Let them read H. Fowlis history of them, and Bishop Barlows recitations of multitudes of their Doctors, and my Abridgement of Church History, and then believe it if they can : The world knoweth that the Papists set two superiors over Kings, 1. The Pope and his Councils, who have decreed it to be the Henrician Heresie and Simony to hold so much as Princes Power of Investing Bishops, and that the Pope hath not power pro meritis to depose them. 2. The People are commonly made by their Divines and Politicks the Givers of the Princes power, who should not so much as tolerate him if he be an Infidel or Heretick.

II. Is it the Church of England only whose Principles they prefer ? 1. Wherein do we differ from them ? Do we not subscribe their Articles, Canons and Homilies as to civil Government ? And if we subscribe not the New Covenant or Profession, for the Phrases [Any Commissioned] and [on any pretence whatsoever] that proveth no Doctrinal difference from them, that subscribe them only in a sense which we never were against, and who would not do it, if they understood them properly. 2. Were B. Jewel, Bilson, and Mr. Hooker, none of the Church of England ? were not the Bishops and Convocation in A. B. Abbots days, the Representative Church of England ? Were not the Parliaments that

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that followed them of the Church of England? Was it only Dr. Sibthorp and Dr. Mainwaring and a few such cried down by Parliaments and Prelates that were the Church of England? Doth not B. Bramhall own Grotius as designed for preferment in this Church? 3. And are not the worthy Conformable Clergy, and Parliament, who are yet against the Principles of Sibthorp and Mainwaring part of the Church of England?

It may be you will say [All the Nonconformists be not of your principles, and what then is this to excuse the rest?] And many talk of one Goodman and Buchanan in Scotland, and of Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos (falsly charged on Beza, and written by Hubert Languet.)

*Ans. And indeed, are all the Church of England of one mind? Are they all of Sibthorps mind on one side? Or are they all of Jewel, Hooker and Bilsons mind on the other side? Did they not differ when most followed Abbot (the refuser of Sibthorps book,) and the rest followed Bishop Laud? and when the two parties began the war, were they all of the mind of Williams Arch-Bishop of York who was a Commander in armes for the Parliament? Shew us the doctrine of the Church for Loyalty which we receive not, and wherein in this we come behind you. Do all the Church of England agree with Mr. Thorndike, Mr. Dodwel, or Dr. Heylin? Read this mans History of the Reformation, and see how he exposeth it to scorn? Read his history of Presbytery, and his life of Arch-Bishop Laud, and tell us whether you are all of that mind. There is a Papist that hath written an Historical Collection of the horrid confusions of the English Reformation almost all verbatim out of Dr. Heylins History, half as reproachful as Philanax Anglicus; or the Image of both Churches, or any that a Pateson or a Parsons could have written. Yet this was a Dr. of the Church? I do not think that all the Church will joyn with Bishop Bramhall & Dr. Pierce in the Vindication of Grotius as a Protestant, who writeth for Romes common Mistrisship, and for belief
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of the Doctrine of all the General Councils, even that of Trent. I do not think you all hold that our Reformers followed the measure of Erasmus, though some say so? Nor that you all blame the casting of Images out of the Churches as much as Dr. Richard Cox did in his epistle to Cassander? Was the sharp Arch-Bishop Whitgift and the rest that were for the Lambeth Articles, and our great Divines that went to Dort, and the Parliaments that decryed Arminianism, of the same mind as Arch-Bishop Laud, Neal, Buckeridge, Corbet and Mountague? Why then, do you tell us of an odd dissenter, or of sects that we own not, or expect that among us there should be no differences? Are we not men?

III. Is it the Principles of the Old Greeks and Romans which you prefer before ours? If you never read them, believe not me, but believe Hobbes and multitudes of other sorts that say, They mostly hated Kings; and even Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Plutarch, &c. took it for a meritorious act to kill tyrants: (and whom did they mean?) Of all men set not them before us.

IV. Is it the new Philosophers; such Cartesians as Spinoza, and such as Hobbes that you prefer? I shall tell you after, what are their politicks.

V. Is it the famous Lawyers and Politick writers of Europe, Papists or Protestants? I have told you after what they hold. What heaps of Testimonies doth the Great Lawyer Hottoman in his Franco-Gallia bring, to prove the Power of Nobles and Parliaments limiting the Monarch formerly in France? And Bodin is against him as to the Constitution of France, and by the information of Dale the English Ambassador, taketh England also to be an Absolute Monarchy, and that the Parliament hath no Authoritative part in making Laws, but only a requesting and advising part, and the King the only Legislative. Yet see what are even Bodins Principles. 1. Pag. 98. He saith [Sovereign Majesty

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Majesty and absolute power, consisteth principally in giving Laws to the Subjects in general without their consent.

2. Chap. 4. *He taketh slavery to be unlawful.*

3. Page 88. c. 8. *He maketh Monarchy to be the gift of the people, voluntarily disseising and despoiling themselves of the Sovereign power to seize and invest another in it. (As if a man should by pure gift deliver to another man the propriety and possession that to him belongeth): And so he maketh the Ruler to have just so much power as the people give him. And at this rate Lawyers ordinarily speak both Protestants and Papists.*

4. *He ever excepteth from the absolute Sovereigns power, all that is commanded or forbidden by the Law of God and Nature, which no man can abrogate, pag. 89, &c.*

5. Pag. 85. *He tells us how of old the Chief Justice thus invested the King of Arragon. "We which are to thee in virtue nothing inferior, and in power greater than thy self, create thee our King. Yet with this condition, that one among us shall have more power and command than thy self." But he believeth not that the people of Arragon chose the King.*

6. *He saith that a Prince is not subject to his Laws, but he is to his own just and reasonable Conventions: and that many are deceived that confound Laws and a Princes contracts which they call also Laws (Constitutions or Fundamental Laws they are called) The Law depends on the will of him that hath the Sovereignty. But the contract between the Prince and his Subjects is mutual, which reciprocally bindeth both parties, so that the one party may not stare therefrom, to the prejudice, or without the consent of the other. (As Constitutions are made by contract, so some countries make Governing laws by contract).*

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7. Pag. 95. *He saith the Prince cannot derogate from the Laws that concern the state of the Realm, and the establishing thereof.*

8. Pag. 97. *He saith* [It is not in the power of any Prince in the world (no more than the King of England) at his pleasure to raise taxes on the people, no more than to take another mans goods from him, as Philip Commynes wisely shewed in the Parliament at *Towres.*]

9. Pag. 97. *He objects* [that the Estates of England have power to condemn; as *K. Henry* the 6. was condemned by the Estates to be kept Prisoner in the *Tower of London.*] *And answereth* [That was done by the ordinary Judges of England, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Upper House, at the request of them of the Nether House] *I thought it was done by traitorous usurpation.*

10. Pag. 200. L. 2. c. 2. *He distinguisheth of Lawful or Royal Monarchy, Lordly Monarchy and Tyrannical Monarchy:* The Lawful or Royal Monarch is that where the Subjects enjoying their natural liberty and propriety of their goods, obey the Laws of a Monarch, and the Monarch the Laws of Nature. The Lordly Monarchy is that where the Prince is become Lord of the goods and persons of his Subjects, by Law of Arms and lawful War, governing them as the Master of a Family doth his slaves. The Tyrannical Monarchy is where the Prince concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations, imperiously abuseth the persons of his free-born Subjects, and their goods as his own.

11. *Though he justly blame Aristot. (p. 206.) for defining a King to be him, who chosen by the people, reigneth as they desire*] from whose will if he never so little depart he becometh a tyrant; *And though Althusius blame Bodin for being for absolute Monarchy, yet Bodin l. 2. c. 4. describeth a Tyrant just as Althusius (after cited) doth, if not more copiously and odiously: The learned Reader may peruse pag. 212. his difference*

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ference between a King and a Tyrant, too large to be recited, and scarce safe for the vulgar to read, lest they should think most Princes by those Characters to be Tyrants: I am sure it goeth far beyond our Language.

12. *And it's the more dangerous in that c. 5. p. 220, 221. he teacheth [that it is a fair and magnificent thing, for a Prince (of another land) to take up Arms to relieve a whole Nation and People unjustly oppressed by the cruelty of a Tyrant: [And that [it is lawful for any stranger to kill a Tyrant,] that is to say, a man of all men infamed and notorious for the oppression, Murder and slaughter of his Subjects. But as for Subjects to do the same, it must be known whether the Prince be an Absolute Sovereign, or not: For if he be no absolute Sovereign, then must the Sovereignty of necessity be either in the people or the nobility, in which case there is no doubt but that it is lawful to proceed against a Tyrant by way of Justice, if so men may prevail against him: Or else by way of fact, and open force, if they may not otherwise have reason. As the Senate did against Nero and Maximinus.— p. 222. It shall be lawful not only for strangers but for the Subjects themselves also to take them out of the way].*

Albericus Gentilis was made Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford (where he unsuccessfully wrote for Stage-Plays against D. Jo. Reignolds): And therefore he was one of the Church of England: And in his book De jure Belli he holdeth,

1. *That unavoidable ignorance may make a war to both sides lawful, l. 1. c. 6.*

2. *He joyneth with Bodin against war or forcing men to Religion, c. 9, &c. with notable testimonies of Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c. Bernard, Cassiodorus, Erasmus, Hospitalius, Victoria, Covarruvia, Baldus, P. Amilius and others.*

Approving Cujacius that saith [Religio non est quæ ca-

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let in cades civium & perniciem patriæ.]

3. C. 11. *He saith distinguishing* [Ita cenfeo; ut qui subditus privatusque non est, is se defendere contra Principem in ista causa religionis, etiam per bellum possit: Qui subditus simul & privatus non est, is ultimo loco & pro remedio ultimo potest se & in aliis causis bello tueri, ut quem non juvat ratio propter potentiam domini, arma eum defendant — ut Baldus, Defensio ista contra omnes est, nec debet ullum Patrono honorem. Privatus qui homo est, nihil horum potest.

4. C. 13. Defensio etiam brutis jus est nature; non opinione nobis, sed innata quadam vi persuasum & constitutum. Et necessarium jus est: Nam quid est quod contra vim (ait Cicero) fieri sine vi possit. Hoc super omnia jura est probatissimum: vim vi repellere, omnes Leges, & omnia jura permittunt. Lex una & perpetua, salutem omni ratione defendere.

5. *And to prove that men must defend each other, contrary to Hobs and Spinosa, he notably sheweth that Christians and Heathens agreed that all the world is one Body, house, city, of which all are members, made under one law, c. 15. and citeth Bartolus, Baldus, Alciatus, Albericus and many more Lawyers to prove that the omission of defending others is a sin: especially when they are our near friends: citing Ulpian and Tully for it as the Law of Nature.*

6. C. 16. *He writeth for Princes defending the Subjects of other Princes, if unjustly oppressed, yea sometime though the Subjects were unjust, to keep them from immoderate penalty: Much more I pass by. And are these Lawyers Doctrines more loyal than ours here professed?*

In a word, Libraries and Booksellers shops abound with such Books, as teach such Doctrines, Philosophers, Historians, Papists and Protestants; and yet no such outcry of Treason and Rebellion hath been raised against them, but the Books commonly tolerated

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tolerated and read: And we that never owned such things are by Plotters represented as if we were ready by our disloyal Doctrine to destroy the King and Kingdom.

And the foresaid Greg. Sayrus saith Clav. Reg. l. 3. c. 6.

p. 134. "That mens Laws bind not, unless the people receive them. For it is not meet that men should be so governed by humane power, as that they should against their will be driven by a Law, to do any thing, which neither by the Law of Nature nor of God they are bound to do:

"And this must not seem hard or absurd to any one, seeing that the power of the Prince who is the maker of the Law, seemeth in a sort to depend on the will of the people; because the authority of Secular Power is delegated to the Prince himself or Magistrate by the people, for the making of Laws which shall seem profitable to the good moderating of the Common-wealth; so that the Laws which are made by Princes or Magistrates, are therefore to be called valid, because they are judged to have come from the consent of the people themselves.

Hence Alph. à Castro gathereth, "That if a Prince or Magistrate having such power from the people, would by a Law of his making compel the gainsaying people to any thing which is not necessary by the Law of God or Nature, he is to be judged a Tyrant; because he exerciseth greater power toward the people committed to him than he truly hath. But à Castro sheweth, that this is to be understood only of the Lay power; because only this receiveth its strength from the people.

And p. 120. he sheweth, "that a Law binds not, if it extend to those things, which exceed the Law-makers power: and that therefore the Civil Magistrates cannot make Law of matters Ecclesiastical. Also if they are not for the common good.

I name Sayrus; because you are not to look for better from a Papist,

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a Papist, his Book being the best of Cases of Conscience; not only in mine, but the common judgement. And see here how near he and Mr. Hooker agree.

It seems heretofore some Canonists thought otherwise: But the great Politick Writer Ad. Contzen li. 5. c. 5. tells you, "That now the common vote is against them: And he concludeth as the true and common judgement, that the power of making Laws, is by nature in the multitude or whole Common-wealth; and that no one Prince hath more than the people give him. And that the people when they choose a Royal Person or Family, may reserve this right, that he shall abrogate or make no Law without them: that all Civil power flows from the people; and that none without Tyranny can take this power from them: And that such a Tyrant is worse than he that beateth the innocent, because he wrongeth and oppresseth more.

And of all forms of Government, he concludeth [Monarchiam temperatam, in qua Optimatum, sive Senat' s' valeat auctoritas, in qua Civitatum, atque aliorum Ordinum sit nonnulla potestas, preferendam esse, li. 1. c. 21. p. 43. And he defineth Tyranny to be [Imperium quod ad imperantium, aut alicujus partis in Republicâ utilitatem spectat &c.] l. 16. p. 31. Et p. 32. ait [Prima & vetustissima tyrannidis origo est Regum in pejus mutatio: Ambitio, avaritia, libido, potestatis comites sunt & pestis. p. 33. Utinam, utinam, quam serio Tyrannidem & Tyrannum omnes detestantur, ita sedulo fugiant! Si ulla res est orbi perniciofa, sibi gravis, illa est Tyrannis. p. 34. Accedit & illud ad miseriam Tyrannorum quod quocunque modo cadantur etiam per fraudem & injuriam, magna tamen in laude apud improbos sum illi, qui hoc ausi sunt, etiamsi per scelus — Et si injusta sit cædes, multis tamen grata: Causam reddit princeps philosophum, l. 2. pol. c. 7. [Maxima injuria propter immoderatas

ratas

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ratas homines inferunt, Et non propter res necessarias—ut libidines impune expleant. Idcirco magna præmia propofita funt, non ei qui furem; fed qui Tyrannum occiderit—]

But enough of this comparing of our Doctrine with other mens, whose Books are commonly fold and read. An impartial hearing when accused, is that which we have in vain long desired of our hurtfullest enemies. But well saith the forefaid Contzen. l. 9. c. 44. p. 732. Absolvit Judex quem audire formidat.

I have oft wondred that when Christ was accused as an enemy to Cæsar, the Jews nor Romans did not charge him for gathering the multitude as his guards, to the awe of the Rulers, who durst not lay hands on him lest the people should stone them or rise for him against them: For they feared the people, Luk. 22. 2, and 20. 19. Mark 12. 12. Mat. 21. 46. when they sought to lay hands on him, they feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet. Yea, K. Herod durst not put John to death for fear of the multitude that took him for a prophet, Mat. 14. 5. And when the Pharisees bid Christ rebuke the multitude that cried Hosanna, he would not. Yet he declared that his Kingdom was not of this world, and he was not made a divider of inheritances, and paid tribute to Cæsar to avoid offence. I wonder that the Rulers did not prosecute the people rather then fear them. But I will not believe that Christ sinned in this, though Infidels think so.

VI. But stay: Perhaps it is the ancient Bishops and Canons which they say agreed in more Loyal Doctrine than I here profess? But 1. I have newly in my Abridgement of Church History said so much to answer this that I fear not the censures of any impartial reader. 2. How greatly doth the great Antiquary Albalpineus reverence the Apostolical Constitutions, as the Greek Churches ancient rule: But I disown their

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their Doctrine, l. 8. c. 2. Neque vero Rex impius Rex est amplius, sed Tyrannus: Neque Episcopus ignorantia aut malo animo oppletus, Episcopus est, sed fallus Episcopus, non à Deo, sed ab hominibus promotus. If I should cite a bundance such I should but anger some. Read Nazianzenes description of Bishops and Councils, and Socrates and others of the cases of Theoph. Alexand. and Chrysoft. and the horrid insurrections at Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, &c. and judge impartially between them and us.

Among a multitude I will add one instance of my own usage, that you may see more of my reason for this writing. The Transprofer rehearsed p. 48. saith "M. Baxter in his holy "Common-wealth maintaineth that he (the King) may "be called to account by any single Peer J Must we say nothing to such bloody slanders? Never such a thought was in my mind, nor word spoke or written by me, but all is a meer false fiction: Nay, in all the times of usurpation, and since, I said, and wrote that the Kings person is inviolable, and to be judged by none, either Peer or Parliament; and that it is none but Subjects that they may call to account and judge and punish; and that neither the King may destroy or hurt the Kingdom, nor the Kingdom the King (much less a Peer) but their Union is the Kingdoms life. And the very Book accused goeth on such Principles, and hath not a word meet to tempt a man in his wits to this accusation. Judge now by this one instance, and by the cry of the Plotters now against us, seeking our destruction and the Parliaments as supposed to favour us (which, for ought I know never did any thing for our relief or ease) whether it be meet that I should die in silence under such horrid accusations: against which I appeal to the great and righteous Judge, before whom I am shortly to appear, begging his pardon, and reforming-conviction; where ever I erre.

April 16.

1680.

R. c.

The

The Contents of this Extorted and Distorted Treatise.

C H A P. I.

THe judgement of the Author and the Nonconformists. of his acquaintance as far he knoweth it, Of the *Fundamental Reasons of Government*; specially against *Bened Spinoza's* false foundations, whose shameful words are recited, and other Bruitists confuted who subvert all religion, morality, government and humanity : And a touch of Popish principles.

Chap. II. More of *Gods Government*, his *Laws* and their perfection, and mens additions.

Chap. III. Of the Power of Sovereigns and the Obedience of Subjects.

Chap. IV. A redundant added profession of the Author, with his Renunciation of a multitude of disloyal Principles : written to silence malicious accusers, but unmeet to be expected from all others.

Chap. V. The Conformity of our Principles of Loyalty, 1. To the Constitution of the Kingdom, described by King *Charles I.* in many of his Declarations : 2. To the Articles of Religion, Canons and Homilies, about the Power of Magistrates, the obedience of Subjects, and the sin of Rebellion : 3. To the judgement of the most esteemed Prelates : Bishop *Fer. Taylors* words in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, of Civil and Church power, recited at large.

Chap. VI. A Scheme of Political Principles compared, or the *Political Alphabet*, 1. Of the sincere Christian Loyallist, 2. Of the treacherous flattering selfish Royallist ; 3. Of the understanding real Papist ; 4. Of the unruly seditious Rebel ; and, 5. The summ of *Spinoza's Posthumous* works, with a Confutation of the Principles of *Hobbes de Cive*, and the doctrine of some Lawyers and Politick writers about Power and Tyranny compared with ours.

Chap. VII. Of the true Nature of Church-Government, Communion and worship.

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peace in generals, and of the Causes of Schism, and of Toleration, &c. p. 149

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Chap. X. Of the *quality* and *faults* of those called *Our followers* and *Puritans*, and whether we are guilty of any of their mistakes; In answer to the Politician, the Debater and many others, who from the unmeet words of some odd persons, would render us and them contemptibly or intolerably erroneous in doctrine.

Our judgement of the Interest of Reason in Religion, was before published by it self: And our judgement of Schism, in our former *Plea for Peace*. p. 187

Chap. XI. Our judgement of the difference of *Grace* and *Morality*, against some that accuse us as destroying morality; *Hobbs*, that saith it is a seditious principle to hold that faith must be inspired or infused. p. 3

Chap. XII. Our judgement of the Lawfulness of Things Indifferent commanded by authority. p. 21

Chap. XIII. The Authors account of his judgement of Scandal, and things evil by accident, if commanded: in answer to Bishop *Morly* and the young Eccles. Politician; (written 1668. somewhat tedious through much distinction, which accusation made necessary). p. 45

Chap. XIV. What the Nonconformity of my self and the Ministers of my familiarity *is not*; in many particulars in which we are mistaken (written long before the first part of our *Plea*, in which I shew *what it is*.) p. 83

The Judgement of the Non-Conformists about the difference between Grace and Morality was Printed, 1676. and cast by, and hath many *Errata*, viz.

PAGE 3. line 17. for *Moralities* r. *Immoralities*: p. 13. l. 26. r. *Treasury*: p. 84. l. 5. after *why* put ? : p. 96. l. 4. r. *were*: p. 112. l. 15. blot out *at Sion Colledge*: p. 113. l. 5. for *shall* r. *may*: and l. 20. for *suspensions* r. *suspensions*: p. 116. l. 9. for *Lordships* r. *preferments*: p. 112. l. 17. r. *consent* so.

Omissions

Omissions are p. 79. at the end, *And if any (not accusing others) should think, truly or mistakingly, that all these or any one of them are imposed on him by man, his obedience thereto cannot be expected, till his judgement be changed: and if he erreth not, he sinneth not: p. 100. l. 12. add, we apply this bu to the general question, and not to any par-icular case or persons: p. 115. marg. add, at Qu, 4, 5, 6. None of these Questions are put to our Superiours, who have received many Ministers into the Church upon their Conformity, who some preach, some wrote, some fought against the Kings cause; But they are only to those that would have the Act of Oblivion forgotten, and still talk of the war in a malicious plot, to silence and ruine multitudes that had no hand in it.*

Note that nothing in this book is written to dishonour our Rulers, nor the Conforming Clergy, nor to deprave the Liturgie: But as I greatly rejoyce that England hath yet so many Learned and able and laborious publick Preachers, (especially London) and write this much to abate their unjust censures of us that we may come to our necessary Concord; so having read all the Old Liturgies in the Biblioth. Patrum, I do wish old John Ball that excellent Non-Conformist (in his Treat. of Liturgies against Separation) thank God that England hath a better Liturgy than any of them all, and one of the best in all the World (that is so particular and long.)

Glory to God in the Highest, on earth Peace, to men Good-will. Amen.

THe sence of the House of Commons in Queen Elizabeths days, (who sure were no Presbyterians) is thus related by D. Heylin, Hist. of Presbyt. pag. 288. [“ A smart Petition is presented to the Lords in the name of the Commons, for rectifying of many things which they conceived to be amiss in the state of the Church: The whole Petition did consist of 16. particulars; of which the first six did relate to a Preaching Ministry, the want of which was much complained of in a supplication — In the other ten it was desired — “ That no Oath or Subscription might be tendered to any at their entrance into the Ministry, but such as was prescribed by the statutes of the Realm, and the Oath against Corrupt entering: 2. That they may not be troubled for Omission of some Rites or Offices prescribed in the book of Common prayer: 3. That such as had been suspended or deprived for no other offence, “ but

"but only for not subscribing, might be restored. 4. That they
 "may not be called and urged to answer before the Officials and Com-
 "missaries, but before the Bishops themselves. 5. That they might not be
 "called into the High Commission, or Moot (out) of the Diocese where
 "they lived, except for some notable offence. 6. That it might be per-
 "mitted to them, in every Arch-Deaconry to have some common exer-
 "cises, and conferences among themselves, to be limited and prescribed
 "by the Ordinaries. 7. That the high censure of excommunication may
 "not be denounced or executed for small matters. 8. Nor by Chancel-
 "lours, Commissioners (Commissaries) or Officials, but by the Bishops
 "themselves with the assistance of grave persons. 9. That non-re-
 "sidency may be quite removed out of the Church. 10. That at least,
 "according to the Queens Injunctions Art. 44. No nonresident having
 "already a Licence or Faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able
 "Curate that may weekly preach and Catechize, as was required by
 "her Majesty in the said injunctions] Against (saith Heylin) the
 "violence of this Torrent the Arch-Bishop interposed both his
 "power and Reason ——— But finding that the Lord Grey and
 "other of that house (of Lords) had been made of the party,
 "he drew the rest of the Bishops to joyn with him in an humble
 "Petition to her sacred Majesty, and the Queen put an end to
 "that dispute, not only for the present but all Parliaments fol-
 "lowing.

Here you see, 1. What was the sence of the Lords and Com-
 mions: 2. What was the heinous evil desired that seemed in-
 tolerable to the Bishops: 3. By whom and how it was defeated]
 The Lord have mercy on his Church; and the souls that men
 have little mercy for, and save them especially from themselves,
 and next from their Reverend Overseers. Dr. Stoughton citeth
Luther saying, Nunquam periclitatur religio nisi inter reverendissimos.

As this was coming out of the Press, a Sermon of Dr. *Stillin-
 fleet's* oft calls me to account, about Separation. When I see a
 satisfactory answer to what I have lately said hereof in my Book
 of Concord and the first part of the Plea for peace, if I have life and
 liberty I shall return my thanks to the Confuter: But I am not now
 at leisure to open other mens confounding or mistaking touches,
 who have not leisure to say that which requireth an answer, for
 them that impartially have read the books, which he excepteth
 against.

A Pacificatory account of my judgement
and such *Nonconformists* as I converse with, of
Government and obedience, and some other
Doctrinals about which the *Nonconformists* are
accused or suspected as dangerously erring.

C H A P. I.

*The principles of Spinoſa and ſuch Bruitiſts againſt Govern-
ment and Morality recited, and confuted, and the funda-
mental reaſons of Government aſſerted.*

§. 1. **V**E have no reaſon to blame our
Rulers, for being offended with
all principles of Anarchy and
Rebellion, and being jealouſly
watchful againſt all real appearances of them: for that
ſuch are among us, and that the tendency of them is to per-
nicious effects, is paſt denial: and all lovers of God,
their Country and their King, will hate and oppoſe them,
when they do diſcern them.

§. 2. What the Papiſts principles are, is ſo largely prov-
ed by *Henry Fowlis*, and by Doctor *Barlow*, the preſent
B worthy

worthy Bishop of *Lincoln*, after many others, that no addition is necessary; but that such as the *Counterminer* and many others in Press and Pulpit should lay somewhat like it to the charge either of the present *Nonconformists*, or to *Nonconformists* as such, and cry out to Rulers and people, as they love their power, Estates and lives not to tolerate us (that is, to destroy or banish us) and specially that the Parliament in the beginning of the *Oxford Act* which banisheth us from Corporations, should leave on record such suspicions of us as the reason of their Act, are things that have long seemed to me to make such a Defence our duty, as tendeth to the satisfaction of the suspects and accusers; Lest we seem 1. To own the charge, 2. and thereby tempt the people to think that we take not rebellion for a sin; 3. or to despise both the Law-makers, their Laws, and the said Preachers that thus accuse us.

§. 3. I have not yet heard of any such severe prosecutions of the Brunitists that are for *Hobbes*, *Spinoza*, *Pomponatius*, *Vaninus*, &c. as have been used against truly Loyal *Nonconformists*. But their principles are so pernicious, subverting humanity, morality and Government, that I will begin with the recital of them as *Spinoza* layeth them down, and then add the true fundamentals of Government and morality which confute them.

§. 4. *Bened. Spinoza* in *Tractat. Theolog. polit.* cap. 16. pag. 175, 176, &c. saith ["*Jus natura nihil aliud est quam, &c. The Right of Nature is nothing but the Rule by which every thing is determined to his manner of being and operation, as fishes are to swim, and the great ones to eat the little ones. That natural Right extendeth as far as power. That every Individual hath the Highest Right, to all things that he is able to do: That it is the chief Law of Nature, that every thing do its utmost to continue in its own state, having no respect to any other, but only to it self;*
that

that here there is no difference between men and other things, nor between rational men, and Fools or mad men : that while men live under the Empire of nature only, they live by the only Laws of Appetite, and that by the highest Right : that the natural right of every man is not determined by sound reason, but by Lust and power : All being born ignorant, it being long before they know the true reason of living, and get the Habit of Vertue, though they have good education, they are no more bound this while to live by the Laws of a sound mind (or reason) than a Cat by the Laws of Lions. Whatsoever any such shall judge profitable to himself, either by guidance of sound reason, or by the force of affection, it is lawful for him by the highest right of nature to desire it and to take it, and that by force or fraud, or request, or by what other way he easiliest can ; and to take him for his enemy that would hinder the fulfilling of his desire : so that the Right and Law of nature under which all are born, and for the most part live, forbiddeth nothing, but that which no man desireth and which no man can do, not contentions, not hatred, not wrath, not frauds. Whatsoever in Nature seems to us absurd, ridiculous or evil, is because we know things but in part. It is the universal Law of humane Nature, that no man neglect that which he judgeth good (for him) but in hope of a greater good, or the fear of greater damage ; nor endure any evil but to avoid a greater, or in hope of greater good : that every man of two goods choose that which he thinks best (for him) and of two evils, that which he thinks least, be it so or not : and this is so firmly written in mans nature, that it is to be numbred with the eternal verities, which no man can be ignorant of. Therefore no man is to promise without fraud, nor to stand to his promise made, to give up this right (in civil sociation) unless for fear of greater evil or hope of greater good. As if a robber force us to promise him our goods, we may fraudulently promise and not perform it : yea if I mistakingly think I have promised a thing to

my hurt, I may break it : whence we conclude that Covenants can have no force but for our profit sake , which being taken away, the Covenant is taken away and remaineth void. Therefore in constituting Republicks, it's foolish to require fidelity, further than you make sure, that Covenant-breaking shall prove the breakers hurt : For every man by natural right; may deal deceitfully, and is not bound to stand to his Covenants. He hath the supreme Right over all men, who hath the greatest power, by which he can retain them by force or fear of the greatest punishment : which Right he shall have no longer, than he keepeth the power of executing what he list : Otherwise he shall rule precariously, and no one that is stronger than he shall be bound to obey him, unless he will. And thus societies may be formed without any wrong to the right of nature: and he that hath most power is bound by no Law. And thus we are bound to execute all his commands that hath most power, be they most absurd : because reason bids us chuse the less evil : But then this Right of commanding what they will, no longer belongeth to chief Powers, than they have chief power: which if they lose, they lose their Right of commanding, and it falls to him or them that get it and can keep it.

Then having extolled Democracy he proceedeth to shew that, There is no injury but in a Civil life (the crossing of his will that hath most power) and that all things are lawful to them that are strongest, and they can do no wrong, and Justice is a constancy of mind to give every man that which by (this) civil Right belongs to him, (that is, which he cannot get from him without his own hurt) And that if two States Covenant, none but a fool that knoweth not the right of supreme Powers, will expect they should stand to it, longer than is for their own ends or good; and so in matters of piety and Religion. Also, that all are to be taken for enemies save subjects and confederates, though they never did us wrong : and we may compel them to subjection or confederation, if we are able, with much more to this purpose, taking off all obligations

ligations of charity, justice and common honesty, except what mens private interest, or the will of him that is strongest doth infer. Otherwise making it as lawful, yea as much duty to murder any man, or as many as we can, as to save mens lives, to steal and rob as to forbear, to lye and be perjured as to speak truly, to be adulterous as to be chaste, to be a Traitor as a Loyal subject: openly dissolving and deriding all divine obligations, save mans, and releasing all mens consciences from them: As if he proclaimed to the world, that if once they can but think it to be for their own good, they may kill any man, they may murder Kings and turn their Guns, their swords, their poysons against them, notwithstanding any oaths to the contrary, without any scruple of Conscience or fear of punishment in the world to come. And if once all mens consciences were thus turned loose, no guards, no Army could secure the lives of Kings, as the cases of *Henry the 3.* and *Henry the fourth of France* have proved: Yea he thus telleth, Every General of Armies, or any other subject that can but kill the King, and take possession of his kingdom, that he hath as much right as the King had as long as he is strongest, and that all the subjects have the same obligation to defend him that hath deposed the King, as they had before to defend the King. In a word, that no man is to be trusted by another any further than he thinketh it good for himself, nor oweth any duty to any, but himself, not excepting Parents to children or children to their Parents.

It is the will & mercy of God to Princes and to mankind thus to permit those that will be Atheists and Rebels against him to shew the consequences of it, by their inhumane and rebellious opinions against Government: That if Princes will ever set up Epicurisme, Atheisme and Infidelity, they shall set up Rebellion with it, and expose their Lives to every man that hath but list to venture upon a secret or an open assault.

And

And the root of all this mans inhumanity is his Epicurean principles of Philosophy about God and *Nature*, supposing God to be but the *Eternal necessary necessitating first cause of all things and motions*, as the *Sun is of Light and heat*, who can do no more, nor less than he doth, moving the world as a Clock or Watch by meer invariable necessity, that never did or can do a miracle, or alter the necessitating course of nature: And that man hath no self determining free-will at all, but is moved as necessarily as an Engine; And that God is no governour, nor hath no Laws (but mens) nor no *Justice*, nor *Mercy*, these being not to be attributed to him, but only natural motion or necessitation; And that he that lyeth, murdereth, stealeth, rebelleth is equally moved to it by God, as he that speaketh truth, and doth all that is just and good: and therefore it is but our narrow minds and ignorance, that taketh one thing to be better or worse than another, or to be sin or duty, save in respect to our commodity and the will of the strongest.

And is it not a wonder that a man should think all this to be the *undoubted Light of Nature* and the product of free enquiries, and of the true Universal Idea of God, when as *nature taught the contrary* to almost all the old Philosophers, save the Epicureans (who as *Cicero* sheweth were in common contempt with sober men): yea to *all the most Barbarous Nations of the world*, even to our *American Savages* at this day, for the most part: And is not that liker to be the *Light of Nature*, which is found in *almost all mankind*, than that which an odd Philosophical Hypothesis or dotage leads a few such Atheists to, who could not without hard study, have extirpated the belief of a God (a morally Governing Deity) from their own minds: and so *unnaturally* have blotted out all *Morality, Religion, Humanity, true Policy and Honesty* at once. And because they

they believe no *rewards* or *Punishments* in another life, they make man but an Ingenious Beast, and his Reason to be given him but to serve his Appetite, and sensitive Life ; so that by their open principles, if any one Bedlam or Idiot could set all the City on fire for his own commodity, he did as well as he that would save it : and if a Traitor could but save himself by the destruction of a whole Kingdom, or the world, it were well done,

And thus, that yet Kings may not think him unkind to them, he sets them above God as to all civil obligations : for *cap. 19.* he over and over tells you that *God hath no other Kingdom or Reign over men, but by those that rule us (that is the strongest) and therefore all Religious worship and exercise of godliness is but the determination of Rulers for the publick peace, and is wholly in their power and at their will : yea that Justice and Charity are not matters of Right and commanded, but by Rulers ; and all Religion hath the force of Law or Right only by their Decree : for in the state of nature, Reason hath no more Right than Appetite ; but those that live after the Law of Appetite, as well as those that live after the Law of Reason, have Right to all they can do or have : and are incapable of sin, and not punished by God, but carried about with the Universe by natural motion : That the Jews gave God his Kingdom over them, and he had none but by their resignation of their power to him ; and then it was no other than Moses his Reign ; and when they had given their power to the King of Babylon, Gods Kingdom and his Right did presently cease : That God having no Kingdom but mens, cannot be conceived, as a Prince or Lawgiver, giving any Laws to men, but as involving all in necessity : That all divine documents revealed by the light of nature or prophetically, have no force of a command from God immediately but from Rulers ; that as to God, all things come alike to all, and *Salus Populi (that is every mans commodity and lust)*;*

lust) is the highest Law to which all both humane and divine must be accommodated : and no man knoweth by Nature that he oweth any obedience to God, or can know it by Reason, but only by Revelation (which his Book is written to declare) pag. 184.

We suppose the Reader will think we have tediously digressed against this Apostate Jew : but the reason is, because the pernicious book having most subtilly assaulted the Text of the old Testament, is greedily sought and cryed up (with *Hobbes* his equal) in this unhappy time, even among those whose place should make them more regardful of the interest of Magistrates at least ; even by those *Atheists* whom God calls Fools, *Psal.* 14. 1. but by themselves are called Wits, and our business is more to defend the truth than our selves.

The summ of our Judgments against these pernicious principles is this, 1. That there is a God, and were there not a God, there could be nothing.

2. That God is not known to us immediately here, but in a glass, or by the means of some effects.

3. Therefore we have no Notion or Name of God which is not in some sort *Borrowed*, or which is formal and adequate to his Essence.

4. Yet nothing invisible is so clearly and certainly intelligible and certain to mans mind, as God, as to the *Quod sit*, that he is, and to much of the *Quid sit*, what he is ; though imperfectly apprehended ; and though nothing be so incomprehensible ; even as no visible thing is more visible than the Sun, and its being and part of its *Quiddity* furthest from uncertainty ; and yet hath in it most unknown.

5. The

5. The Notions we have of God, though *Borrowed* and *Analogical*, are not useless nor fallacious, but imperfect and such as lead to perfect knowledge : And he that will not use these, must use none.

6. We have no *immediate* knowledge of any higher nobler essence than our *own souls*, from which to borrow our Notions of God : still separating all that signifieth imperfection and acknowledging their defectiveness.

7. He that laying by these, will from any other lower baser Nature, form Notions of God, shall have lower, baser Notions of him.

8. *Mans Soul* is a *Spirit*, having essentially the *Virtue*, *force*, or *inclined power*, of *Vital-Activity*, *Intellection* and *Volition* (*Three in one*) : all which are certainly notified by their Acts.

9. As *Vital-self-moving* is more noble than the motion of meer passives or inanimates, so *Vitality* with *Understanding* and *Free-will*, is more noble than brutish motion without *Intellection* or *Free-will* : else worms and Beasts were nobler natures than men, and should be our Governours.

10. Therefore to feign God to be a meer principle of *Universal motion* as the Spring in a Watch, or the poise of a Clock, is to debase him below the *Vitality* of *Beasts* : and to feign him to be a meer *sensitive principle* of *motion*, is to debase him below *humane nature*. And to feign him to be a meer *Vital-Intellectual mover* without *Will*, *Love* and *Voluntary Goodness*, is to think of him in a maimed defective notion, as baser than man's, whose *Will* is one of his noblest faculties, without which he hath no *Love* to or *complacency* in himself or any other. Even as we think of a man of meer speculative knowledge, who nevertheless may be stark naught : (And so men think of the Devil himself).

11. Gods will is the cause and Conserver and end of all things, and therefore to deny his will is to deny all things.

12. Gods will hath all that Liberty which belongeth to Perfection, but no liberty or indifferency which implyeth imperfection.

13. The True Idea of Gods Nature then is, That he is a SPIRIT of LIFE, INTELLECTION and WILL, MOST PERFECT.

14. All the Being, with all the Vitality, Intellect and will, the Power, wisdom and goodness, which is in man or any Creature, being from God, he must needs have more than All himself, either formally or eminently, for he can give nothing more noble than what he hath and is.

15. Man having Vitality, Intellection and Free-will, and being a Sociable creature, each one having need of others and disposed to converse, and placed among others, is a Creature made to be Governed according to his Reason, by Verities, and according to his Free-will by proposed Good; and not meerly moved as a Stone, or Engine, nor meerly moved as Bruits by sense: that is, he is to be ruled by Laws. This one of us hath so fully proved in a treatise called the Reasons of the Christian Religion, part 1. cap. 8. that it must not here be done over again.

16. If the Nature of man were not to be morally governed by proposed Truth and Good, his Reason and Will were vain; he should not be ruled as a man but as a stone or beast: sense must do all: all humane government were impossible or evil, for want of capable subjects: no Villany must be controlled: folly must bear equal sway with wisdom: children must not obey their Parents, any more than Parents their children. Yea by the Principles of this *Maledictus Spinosa* and his tribe, the children

children that can but conquer natural instinct, and escape humane punishment, may as lawfully kill their Parents to get the inheritance, as Love and Honour them: and the Parents may as lawfully murder all their children, to avoid the trouble of keeping them, as to nourish them.

17. Man being naturally made to be Governed, God must needs be his supreme governour, as having the chief Right and sole capacity and aptitude. For 1. there is no other can rule Universally, but partially. Kings rule their Kingdoms, but God ruleth the world. 2. Else there were no Governour over Sovereigns, and so no Blasphemies, no Murders (even of Millions), no Perjuries &c. were unlawful to them, nor were it possible for them to sin. 3. Then no plagues, flames, wars or death were divine punishments, nor any to be feared here or hereafter, but men might as safely defie and blaspheme God, as Love and Honour him. 4. Else there were no Law of Nations obliging many to mutual justice, but only interest and contract. 5. Else no heart actions were morally good or evil, (because not under the Government of men) He that hated God and Goodness and all good men, for his lusts sake, and studied to do all the mischief he could; he that longs for the murder of his own children, Parents or friends, or of his King, were as good as he that Loved them all: for where there is no Law there is no transgression: and so all morality is nullified. 6. If God were not the supreme Governour, no King or person could have *true Right* to govern, for there could be no effect for want of a cause. The People cannot give the Ruling Power which they never had (their personal Rule being of another kind) and God having prevented them by his establishment of Government in the world, who giveth Parents their Governing Power, which is the first.

18. Gods actual Laws do prove him to be a Lawgiver : even those of Nature, which all such Atheists shall never be able commonly to obliterate. And the consent of all mankind still do and will condemn such principles as deny them.

19. A Law is the signification of the Rulers will, constituting what shall be due from and to the subject, as an instrument of Government.

20. Gods Laws are first natural, and next by special Revelation.

21. Gods Law of Nature is all That in the stated natural rerum in all the world, by which his will is signified to us as aforesaid about our duty.

22. So that Gods Law univocally and properly is in genere *objectivo*, and in genere *signi*.

23. Mans own nature as in order it standeth related and disposed towards God and all things and persons circumstant, is the chief part of this objective Law of Nature; from whence his duty resulteth, and Gods will is notified.

24. When the Law is said to be written in our Hearts, it is called the Law univocally, antecedently to the Heart reception, and the reception it self is not another Law.

25. This reception is by the *Intellect*, *will*, or *executive power*: And 1. to know a Law, is not a Law; 2. To will or Love a Law is not a Law; 3. To be ready or disposed to practise a Law is not a Law, unless equivocally.

26. They that confound these things by the name of a Light or Law within us, and then talk of the *sufficiency* of it, do but deceive when they are deceived.

27. What can they (with sense) mean by [The Light or Law within us] but, 1. either the Reception of the objective light or Law which containeth, 1. the

Act.

Act, 2. with its object (as it is become an *Ens Intentionale* Essential to the Act, as in it self it is *Ens Reale*) or else an innate disposition hereunto: 2. Or else some influx of God (natural or supernatural) by which as the chief efficient he exciteth the faculties to receive the Objective Light or Law? And if they meant this second (that all men have sufficient help from Gods influx) they should say so, that men might understand them. If they mean that all *have sufficient knowledge, faith, Love and Goodness*; even Infants and wilful despisers of knowledge, and those that think it service to God, to kill his servants, and all the blinded finners in the world, why do these men pretend to teach them more or blame their errors; and do not forbid all teaching in the world even of Parents or any other? Why did Christ and his Prophets and Apostles teach men that were born wise enough? If they mean that all mens Nature it self is a sufficient intellectual objective Light and Law, without any external light or objective Law, that is without seeing or hearing or thinking of any creature of God but ourselves, then they that are born blind and deaf, have all the same Light and Law as others. If they mean only that mens faculties are sufficiently capable and receptive of the effects of Gods objective Law of Nature, what doth the confounding Metaphor of a *Light within us* do to the notifying of their minds? But men that neither understand the matter nor themselves, will trouble the world with teaching them that they need no teaching.

28. We call those Revelations *natural*, which the ordinary nature of things in themselves, and effects, exhibiteth to us: and we call those Revelations *special* and *supernatural*, which God exhibiteth to us, by means extraordinary, quite out of the way of his common operations,

tions, and such as no natural cause useth to produce, (as to raise the dead, to cause the fire not to burn one, to send an Apparition, an Angel or a voice from heaven, &c.) Though we pretend not to know how much of any natural cause unknown to us may be used by God in any of these.

29. It is impudency in them that pretend to Cartesian *clarity* and *certainty* in all that they will receive, yet to take on them to be so well acquainted with God and his operations, and the frame of nature as to tell the world, that *Liberty of will is inconsistent with Gods nature, that he never doth a miracle, nor altereth the course of the smallest particle in nature, nor doth nothing in the world which is not the necessary effect of natural second causes, as well as of his own will, as he put them in a set course of motion from eternity, or from the creation, with abundance of such dreams, which whatever they are in themselves are certainly unknown to them to be so, and therefore an unfit medium whence to infer the nullity of all divine Government, Laws and morality.*

30. Both natural and supernatural Laws or Revelations are to make man *wise and good*: and so are said to be *written* and *put* into his heart, when they have these effects. But if the effects themselves were all Gods Law, then, 1. God had as many Laws as persons in the world; 2. And his Law in the same person changed, as his *knowledge* and *goodness* changed; 3. And those that can but keep themselves ignorant and bad enough, shall therefore not be bad or have no sin because they have no Law.

31. There is no *actual knowledge* born in man (unless possibly an unexpressible conscioulness of our *own being*); but only a *Disposition* in the *Intellective faculty* to know some things presently, and easily, and some things hardly and by slow degrees.

32. What

32. What ever the understanding can know at last with the most diligent search, it had naturally some power to know from its Original. For nothing doth that which it cannot do (mediately or immediately): therefore the noble nature of the soul is better gathered from the attainments, of some, than the baseness of it from the Ignorance of others, that excite not their natural faculties.

33. Gods Law of Nature bindeth mankind (ordinarily) to live in Governed societies, and hath not left it free to them to do otherwise. Parental Authority is conjunct with our first being, and natural necessity obligeth to the rest.

34. Civil Ecclesiastical and Economical Governours, being instituted by God, are his Officers, and receive their power from his Institution and Universal Laws, and not from the people, who do but choose, or consent to the person that shall receive it.

35. God only is the Universal Ruler, and no Pope or mortal man is capable of it: and God only maketh Universal Laws (what ever General Councils may pretend to.)

36. Gods Laws bind Kings as well as subjects, and give force to their Laws, and nothing of man's is obligatory to us, which is against them; for none can dispense with them.

37. All Government that is *lawful* is for Gods Glory and the Common Good. And Laws that are certainly and notoriously against God and the common Good, have no true obliging power to formal obedience on the soul.

38. Yet such particular Laws disoblige not the subject from subjection, nor from keeping up the honour of Governours, while they Govern for God and the common Good in the main.

39. Though the common description of Tyrants in Politicians and Lawyers is (*quoad exercitium*) that they are
such

such as Govern not for the *common good*, but for their *own*, yet men must take heed, that hence they infer nor either, 1. that we are made judges of the secret intentions of our Rulers hearts, or 2. that one or a few Laws or actions may denominate them such, 3. yea though *we knew that they preferred themselves in their intents*, it is enough to us, if they preserve the *common good* in their practice. Else almost all *ungodly Rulers* would be Tyrants, for it is their common vice to be *most for themselves*.

40. This Atheistical Politician, who alloweth every man to prefer himself before all the world, doth make that in Princes, which all men have called Tyranny, to be the very Law of Nature.

41. One man is less worth than multitudes *ceteris paribus*; and every man is a part of the Universe, and is not born for himself alone; therefore howsoever sense may reach but to the *Individual fleshy* interest; common reason tells us that he liveth not like a man, who preferreth himself before his Country, and had rather Millions or Kingdoms perished than he alone.

42. Our common Nature telleth us, that mans will was made to *Love Good as Good*, and not to *Love our personal commodity alone*: and that an excellent person or thing in another part of the world, is amiable, though never like to be a *commodity* to us: therefore the greatest Good should be greatliest loved, even in our *Neighbours* as well as in *our selves*, and our *Country* above our selves.

43. Though a Prince have not Authority to make Laws to the hurt of the Common-wealth as such, or *sub hac ratione*, yet he hath Authority to judge what is for the good of the Common-wealth as a Ruler, and subjects must acquiesce in his judgement, when cogent evidence

dence of the contrary doth not forbid them. And when they know that a Law is against the common good, and obligeth not to formal obedience, yet because the general Law of Honouring our Rulers still continues, and sometimes disobeying may tend more to the common hurt, than the obedience of that hurtful Law may do, where God himself forbids it not, *material obedience* in such cases is a duty.

44. No private personal injury may be revenged upon the King, nor upon the Common-wealth: no not by words.

45. The *Sovereign* or the *Body of the Common-wealth* may neither of them seek the hurt, much less the destruction of each other; nor do any thing that tendeth thereunto: for their *union* is the *Existent Constitution*, which dissolution destroyeth.

46. Those that dispute for a Power in the Body of the Common-wealth to destroy the Head, or a Power in the Sovereign to destroy the Body, if he please, do (either as *ignorant* or *cunningly treacherous* enemies of both) sow the seeds of suspicion and enmity between them, and seek to make them afraid of each other as of *Tygers* or enemies, and by the terrible word of [*A power to destroy*] make them apprehend Destruction as at the door, and a civil war almost begun: and such are the most pernicious and unsufferable Counsellors.

47. And so various and cross are personal interests, and so weak mens judgements, and so many their errors, lusts and passions, their temptations and ill Counsellors, that if it be maintained lawful for the *Head* or *Body* to destroy each other, and all the safety of each lie meerly in the others will, it will scarce be possible long to keep up a *mutual confidence*, without which societies are sick or lifeless.

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48. Those

48. Those that perswade Rulers to Govern only by *a frightening force*, do treacherously tempt them to seem to the people as their enemies.

49. God hath not made any one form of Government universally necessary, Monarchy, Aristocracy or Democracy ; and who hath the highest power, and in what degree, and under what limits , is not to be decided by Divines from the word of God alone, but by Lawyers from the Constitutions of the respective Commonwealths. And it is usually of ill consequence, when Divines are too forward to go out of their calling, and to be determiners herein ; Especially when few of them use to be well studied in the Laws of the Land ; at least not comparably to Lawyers, who have made it the business of their lives.

50. Those who dissolve the obligation of Oaths and Vows are most perfidious enemies to Kings and Commonwealths : much more those Infidels, who make every mans personal sensuality and lust to be the Highest Law of Nature, besides which nothing obligeth him to keep his Covenants or vows, nor to spare the lives of Kings, Parents or any neighbours. And though it is true that every man loveth himself and feareth him that can hurt him, yet *so cross are mens sensual interests, so blind and various are their opinions, so violent their lusts, so desperate their passions, so cunning their contrivances, so many their opportunities and temptations, that the lives of Kings are never safe, if all mens consciences are once disobliged from the bond of Oaths and divine commands :* which if the Atheists themselves did not perceive, they would not make Religion a necessary humane project for keeping Vulgar Wits in obedience : but they will shortly find that it was necessary from a nobler foundation and to a nobler end.

In summ, They that, 1. make man but a subtile beast, and make his Reason but a projecting Servant to his sense, 2. and deny all the Law of Nature save sensuality, 3. and make all the viciousness of man to be his natural Law, 4. and then take up an answerable Idea of God, as being no moral Governour to whom no man oweth obedience, not just, not merciful, but only the equal spring of an unalterable engine called the universe, 5. and make all things that man can do to be lawful, and all that ever is done to be equally good, as being all but the effect of necessitating promotion, 6. and that no man oweth Love, justice or duty to Parents, King or Country, but what his personal sensuality perceiveth to be a fit means for it self, 7. and that it is no sin to kill King or Parents or Children or Neighbours; if he can scape revenge and hurt, and serve his lust thereby, 8. and that no Oaths bind him to his King or Country, longer than he finds it for his sensual good, 9. and that he that can kill or depose the King, and get possession, hath as good a Title, as he had, 10. and that all men are to be held by us as enemies except Subjects and confederates, 11. and that no man is to fear any punishment, nor hope for any reward from God in this life or in the life to come, 12. and so that Epicurean Physicks are the sole Philosophy, and morality is nothing but a vulgar deceit: I say they that hold and publish this, are such as we hold more worthy to be banished five miles from all Cities and Corporations, than our selves: And we leave their Principles and ours to the judgement of posterity, wishing (in vain) that those Conformists who are thought sufficient for the sacred work without us, and have access to those whom we may not converse with, had proved more sufficient to have preserved Cities and Corporations and the Land from Infidelity, Popery and raging sensuality.

I I. **W**E should next have compared our principles of subjection with those of the Papists, that it might be seen whether we are more worthy to be driven from our Superiours, from Cities and Corporations, than they : But their Doctrine and Practice is so copiously cited out of the expresse words of multitudes of their chiefest Writers, lately by *Henry Fowlis*, after abundance more that have done it heretofore, that we will not now desire of the unsatisfied any more than to read the words of the seventh Council at *Rome* under *Gregory 7.* in *Bin. Tom. 3. par. 2. pag. 1288.* [*Agite nunc Patres & Principes Sanctissimi, ut omnis mundus intelligat & cognoscat, quia si potestis in cælo ligare & solvere, potestis in terrâ Imperia, Regna, Principatus, Ducatus, Marchias, Comitatus & omnium hominum possessiones, pro meritis tollere uniusque & concedere. Si enim spiritualia iudicatis, quid de secularibus vos posse credendum est? & si Angelos dominantes omnibus superbis Principibus iudicabitis, quid de illorum servis facere potestis? Addiscant nunc Reges & omnes seculi Principes quanti vos estis, quid potestis: & timeant parvipendere iussionem Ecclesiæ vestræ.*] Go to now most Holy Fathers and Princes, that all the world may understand and know, that if you can bind and loose in Heaven, you have power on earth to take away from every man or give Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, Dukedomes, Markquises, Earldoms and all mens possessions according to their merits. For if you judge things spiritual, what is to be believed that you can do about Temporals? and if you shall judge Angels who Lord it over all proud Princes, what can you do with those that are their servants? Let Kings and all the Princes of the world now learn, how great you are and what you can do, and let them fear to slight the command of your Church]. And

And Concil. *Rom.* 3. *ibid.* p. 1282. where Gregory the 7. depriveth the Emperour of all his Dominions, and absolveth all Christians from their Oaths to him, and forbiddeth them to serve him.

And that he will but read *Can.* 1. and 3. Concil. general. Later. sub Innocent. 3. where it is Decreed that [the Metropolitane shall excommunicate all Temporal Lords that exterminate not Hereticks (who deny Transubstantiation) from their Dominions, and if they amend not, the Pope shall give their dominions to others, and absolve their Vassals from their fidelity].

Where note, 1. That one *Herefy* here is Believing the senses of all sound men, that Bread is Bread and Wine is Wine, when they see, feel, smell and tast it: and whereas *Spinosa* alloweth sense to be the Law of Nature, these men make it Death and Damnation to believe our senses: and so we must not only renounce Reason and Humanity, but all our senses; and Temporal Lords must lose their Dominions that will suffer men, that renounce not manhood and sense too, to be their subjects. A hard lesson to Princes and people! 2. Note that this is an approved General Council; and though charitably questioned by Bishop *Tayler*, Bishop *Gunning* and Bishop *Peirson* and some others, yet fully owned by the Papists, and defended by the Answerers of Dr. *Gunning* and Dr. *Peirson*: so that whether the Canons be Authentick in themselves or no, is nothing to the point in hand, while they are taken to be such by them: *Sirius* saith [no man in his wits can doubt but it was an Oecumenical famous Council in which &c.] *Binius* (*To.* 3. par. 2. p. 1449.) calls it Concil. Later. Oecum. 12. *Approb.* in *Crab.* *To.* 2. p. 945. they are called decreta concil. General. In *Caranza*, *Acta Concil. Lateran.* &c. 3. Note that General Councils are the Religion it self of the Papists and not refusable by any

as private Doctors opinions are. We desire the Reader to compare our Doctrine with theirs. We take nothing for our Faith or Religion but the Scripture, and therefore can have no seditious Religion, unless the Scripture be such; which if any man misinterpret, it is his Private opinion: which being proved against him, he only is accountable for, and therefore to be banished five miles from Cities and Corporations if he deserve it, and not his Neighbours for his sake.

CHAP. II.

Of Gods Government and the perfection of his Laws, and of mens Additions.

1. **T**HERE is one only GOD, who is the Absolute Universal Rector of all mankind.
2. He and He only hath the power of universal Legislation and judgement, that is, of making Laws obligatory to all mankind, and judging all thereby.
3. This work of Universal Legislation he hath performed, and his Laws are extant.
4. The Law of Nature and the Canon of sacred Scripture are this Law.
5. The Law of God and only it, is obligatory by Primitive, (underived) authority.
6. Divine Revelation or testimony or assertion, and it only is absolutely infallible by the absolute Infallibility and Veracity of the revealer.
7. Gods Laws are not only *sufficient* but *Perfect*, as made by him that hath no imperfection.
8. Their

8. Their sufficiency and perfection is not to be measured by humane presumptions, or by Carnal wit, that would teach God what to speak, and how: and then accuse his Law of material or modal imperfections, because it is not such as they think it should be; or else affirm that to be *there* which is *not there*, because they judge that it *ought* to be there: But it consisteth in their perfect *Aptitude* to their proper ends.

9. It is wise and valid reasoning to prove first that it is Gods Law, and thence to infer that it is *sufficient* and *perfect*: But it is a foolish Reasoning to begin with the more uncertain assumptions, and to argue that *It is not perfect*, Ergo *it is not Gods Laws*; or to dream, that to be Gods Law, and to be imperfect are consistent.

10. When we say it is *Perfect*, we mean only as is said, *formaliter and respectively* as to the proper end, but not, 1. *Materialiter*, 2. *modaliter*, 3. *vel finaliter absolute & simpliciter*; As if the Angels in Heaven had not, 1. more perfect work prescribed them, 2. and by a more perfect mode of Revelation, 3. or to more perfect *immediate* ends: But as the *simplest Saints* in Heaven may be less perfect in *positive Holiness* than some *Angels*, and yet as *perfectly Innocent* and free from all sin; even so Gods Law for the Government of imperfect man on earth, is *positively* in the foresaid respects *less perfect* than the *Heavenly Laws*; and yet as *blameless* and perfect in its kind as to its proper use and ends.

11. Therefore the *Historical method* and the *repetitions*, and the *vulgar phrases*, and the absence of Philosophical niceties, is part of the *perfection*, and not of any *imperfection* of the Laws.

12. The work of Gods Laws is by *Authoritative Institution* to determine what shall be due from man by way of obedience, and what shall be due to man by way of Reward and punishment,

Punishment, and so to be the Rule, first of Duty, and then of judgement.

13. Only Gods Laws can make due everlasting Rewards or Punishments.

14. No man is to make himself a publick judge or Executioner of Gods Laws, without Gods Commission.

15. Gods Laws are not only Perfect as to Essentials, but as to Integral parts also, yea and to all Accidents and appurtenances of them.

16. It belongeth not to Gods *Universal Laws* to command in particular all that ever shall become a Duty to particular persons, to the end of the world.

17. As the particular case of Countries, persons and things do vary, so many things may be *one mans* duty that are not *another*s, and a duty at *one time*, and in *one place*, which are not so in *another* : which therefore were not to be particularly determined in an *Universal Law* ; but only *General Laws* given for their *future determination*.

18. Gods Laws are as perfect for duties of *Love* and *Justice* to man, as for duty of *Love* and *worship* to God.

19. But because the *materials* of humane justice and Beneficences are more *mutable* than those of *holy love* and *worship*, therefore there is incomparably more left to humane determination in that, than in this.

20. It belongeth to the sufficiency and perfection of Gods Laws, to determine of all things *in specie* (or particularly) which as moral means are *Universally necessary* to the good of all mankind (whether *greater* or *lesser* good) in all times or places of the world. And to make all that Duty for men, which shall be *Universally* duty to all the world ; and to forbid all that evil which shall be sin *Universally* to all. For there is no *Universal* Government but God and our Redeemer, therefore there is no
univer-

universal Law but his. It is usurpation against the Right and Laws of God and of Jesus Christ; for any either Person or Collective body, Prince, Pope or Council, to claim an Universal Sovereignty over all the persons, Kingdoms or Churches in the world. For as none of them are *naturally capable* of such a trust, as to the exercise, *so de facto* God hath not committed such a Sovereignty and trust to any personal or collective Vicegerent under Christ. Therefore they accuse Gods Laws of Imperfection, who say that he hath left out any thing (both in Nature and Scripture) which is of universal necessity, or which man may make to become a duty by any one Universal Law.

21. Every particular Kingdom and Church, being part of Christs Universal Kingdom and Church, no man may Usurp any of Christs power, or office, over a part, no more than over the whole (Though the universal usurpation be far the greatest sin against him).

22. Therefore no man may do that which either importeth that they have the same Power in that Church or Kingdom as Christ hath, (but only subordinate power) or that his Laws are defective and imperfect, as to that particular Church or Kingdom.

23. What Christ hath appropriated to himself, as the work or matter of his own Law, must appear from the perusal of that Law it self, and by seeing what he hath there determined of, and so not left for man to do, (unless as the executioners of his Laws, repeating them by commanding that they be practised.)

24. It is certain that as Christ as Mediator is King of the Church, and hath Legislative power, and did exercise it partly by himself on earth, so he commissioned his Apostles in general to teach all Nations to observe all things whatever he had commanded them, and promised

mised them the Holy Ghost, as his Agent or Advocate to bring all that he had taught them to their remembrance, and to inspire them infallibly and lead them into all truth, so that the work of Legislation was performed by Christ, by the Holy Ghost as his Advocate or Agent in the Apostles, *Matth.* 28. 19, 20. *Eph.* 1. 21, 22, 23. *Eph.* 4. 8, 10, 11. *Joh.* 14. 26. *Joh.* 16. 7, 8, 13. *Mic.* 4. 2. *Isa.* 2. 3. & 8. 16, 20. & 42. 4. *Heb.* 7. 12. *James* 1. 25. & 2. 12.

25. It is visible and certain that Christ by himself and his Spirit in his Apostles hath particularly ordained, what Articles of faith shall be believed, by Revealing to us so compleatly the will of God, that there shall no other supernatural Revelation be needful of things to be believed as necessary to Salvation, or to the right worshipping of God. *Gal.* 1. 7, 8, 9. *Eph.* 4. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. 2 *Tim.* 3. 16, 17. *Heb.* 11. 40. *Jam.* 1. 25. *Col.* 4. 12. &c.

26. The Law of Nature and of Christ also have ordained that God shall be worshipped publicly in solemn Assemblies, in a reverent and holy manner, at certain stated times.

27. Christ hath ordained, what persons they shall be, and how qualified, who shall be admitted into his Church, as the members of it; and who shall be kept out.

28. Christ hath ordained that Baptism shall be the door into his Church, and described that Baptism, and required that all that will enter do thus Sacramentally Covenant with God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and dedicate themselves to him. *Matth.* 28. 19.

29. Christ hath ordained that certain persons qualified for that office, shall be separated as his Ministers to preach his Gospel, and baptize those that are converted, and gather Churches, and to be Pastors of the Churches gathered, and this to continue to the end. *Matth.* 28. 20.

Act.

Act. 14. 22, 23. Tit. 1. 3, 4, 5. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13. Eph. 4. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14.

30. He hath appointed to these Officers, a threefold work in subordination to his own Prophetical, Priestly and Kingly office; that is, to Teach the Churches, to guide them in publick worship as their mouth to God, and to Rule them by sacred Discipline. *Matth. 28. 19, 20. 2 Tim. 2. 2, 24. 1 Cor. 14. 15, 16. Eccl. Act. 20. 7, 11. Act. 2. 41, 42. Heb. 13. 7, 17, 24.*

31. He hath given them in Scripture a compleat body of the doctrine which they must preach, as the word of God; and hath ordained that publick prayers, and praises of God, and administration of the Sacrament of the Lords supper, shall be the publick worship which they shall offer to God; and hath left them instructions how to exercise Church discipline, as to admonitions, excommunications and absolutions. *2 Tim. 3. 16, 17. Act. 2. 41, 42. 1 Cor. 11. 20, 22, 23. 1 Cor. 14. Math. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. 1 Cor. 15. 2 John 10, 11. Tit. 3. 10. 2 Thess. 3. 6, 14.*

32. Christ by his spirit in his Apostles hath separated the Lords day, the first day of the week, to be the weekly stated day for the sacred Assemblies for the publick worshipping of God: As Scripture and Church history fully prove.

33. These things ordained by Christ himself are called *Gods Worship*, in a double respect, both as they are Actions done to his immediate honour, and as they are means by himself appointed to that use, and so are his *Worship-Ordinances* or *Institutions*. And so this is called *Gods worship*, in the *Primary* and *eminent* sense.

34. There are abundance of Actions subordinate to these, being but the right *modifying* and *circumstantiating* of them, which may be called *Worship in a secondary* or *diminutive* sense (as being uncovered, bowing, standing, kneeling, the words of prayer and praise, &c. and

enumerated); which as to these *Worship-ordinances* are but Adjuncts or modes; which God hath not commanded in particulars; but given general Laws for the performance of them, requiring men themselves to choose and use them prudently, nor as they will themselves but according to these General Laws: And such an act of man is no sinful addition to the Laws of Christ.

35. Christ hath taken down the Judaical Law of *Moses*.

36. No man hath any authority to make Laws about Gods worship, but what Christ hath given him; he being now made the Universal King.

37. When a controversie ariseth between Christs prerogative and mans, we take it for a case to be tenderly handled. We would go as far in acknowledging the Authority of Princes, as will stand with our Loyalty and fidelity to Christ; But as we must be tender of their Rights and honours, so we must be more tender of his. And nothing can be due to the servant which derogate from the honour of the Master.

38. Therefore Princes and Pastors should not unnecessarily bring their subjects into so great a strait, by needless Laws for additions in Religion, where the consciences of men fearing God, must unavoidably be troubled and tormented by the difficulty, *viz.* between a fear of Treason and disobedience against Christ, and of disobedience to their Prince or Pastors.

39. And it is the more unexcusable to rack and torment and divide the Church by unnecessary Additions in Religion, because Christ hath commanded us so much himself already, as the carnal heart of man repineth at, and therefore will not be brought to practise it; but most men flee from it as a precise and too tedious and strict a course. And when we grudge at Christs Laws

as too great a burden, and too much ado, we should not condemn our selves by adding more.

40. Christ hath declared it to be against his mind and Law, that unnecessary Laws and burdens in Religion should be made for and laid upon the Churches, *Act. 15. 28.*

41. It is against the will and Law of Christ, that we should use things otherwise indifferent, scandalously or temptingly, to the ensnaring and endangering of mens souls and the dishonour of Religion. *Rom. 14. & 15. 1 Cor. 8.* No man therefore ought to make Laws about Religion, which shall enjoyn such an evil use of such things.

42. To invent and command new publick worship-ordinances (either as in Gods name or their own) which are not the meer *commanded modifying and ordering of Gods own worship-ordinances*, but as to the *Nature, use and Reasons* of them, are coordinate or of the same kind, and which have no peculiar usefulness to our age or people more than to another; nor any new reason for them but what was extant at the making of Gods Laws; so that though the Imposition be not universal, yet there is none but an universal reason for that imposition; this seemeth to us to be an accusation of Christs Laws of omission and defectiveness, and an Usurpation of his Legislative power.

43. To add more doctrines or articles of faith, which God hath not revealed in nature or Scripture, and to require belief or profession of belief of them, as to the pleasing of God, or any religious ends, doth seem to us an Usurpation, and an unjust accusation of Gods word as insufficient.

44. To forbid Religious Assemblies, or alter their ends and principal use, is to usurp, and to contradict the Laws of Christ.

45. To

45. To alter the qualifications of Church members, and forbid those that Christ requireth us to receive, or receive such as Christ forbiddeth us to receive, is to contradict his laws, by usurpation, whether Magistrates or Pastors do it.

46. To forbid Baptism, or to alter it, or make a new Sacrament of admission, or a new consecrating, or dedicating Symbol for the solemnization of our Covenant with God, as signifying his grace or the conveyance thereof, and a new Symbol of the Christian Church, or visible badge of Christianity (as if the Knights of the Garter should make a Symbol or badge of their order, besides that which the King hath made) this doth seem to us an usurpation, and an accusation of Gods Law as insufficient. Upon which account (not presuming Pragmatically to judge of other men) we fear for our selves, lest we should sin if we used the Cross in Baptism in the English manner. Because it is called a Dedicating sign, and signifieth the Passion of Christ and the grace procured by it on his part, and also our solemn dedication to Christ, as Baptism doth, and so seemeth to us a kind of Sacrament, and a badge or Symbol of our Religion. And hath no reason for its Institution which concerneth not all Christians as well as us, and which was not extant in the Apostles time; so that if it had been fit to be made a Law, it was as fit then as now, and as fit to be an universal Law as a particular: and therefore we dare not so accuse Christ of omission. And it is not a meer *decent ordering* of Baptism, but a new ordinance of men, to most of the same uses. Yet we deny not but it is left to us, by what sign we will profess our own consent to the Covenant of Grace (by word, writing, or gesture,) which nature or Custome maketh a sign of Consent; But not on that pretence to institute a Symbol

+ bol of our Religion for self-dedication signifying the causes and Graces of the Covenant.

47. To forbid preaching, or Prayer or Praise, or the Lords Supper, or alter them, and to ordain homogeneal means of our own, seems to us usurpation and unlawful.

48. To alter the qualifications of Christs Ministers, or the nature of their Office, and to invent new Co-ordinate Officers, or Church polities, seemeth to us to be usurpation. Though as *actions circa sacra*, so Officers for *those actions*, may be appointed.

49. How many Pastors one Church shall have, and how oft and where they shall assemble, and how far the Juniors or weaker shall be guided by the Abler and Elder, is undetermined particularly.

50. Though on new occasions anniversary days may be appointed for holy worship, and we may meet for it any day of the week, yet to set apart another weekly day for holy worship, wholly and staledly, seemeth to us usurpation and an accusation of Gods Laws.

51. To overthrow, or prohibite Christs Church Discipline, or to set up another (that is not meerly subordinate to it, modally to promote it,) seemeth to us an usurpation.

52. So is it for Lay-men to usurp the Power of the Keys given to the Pastors, or for a New kind of humane Bishops or Pastors to usurp them. Much more to make an Universal Pastor of Pastors, personal or Collective, Pope or General Council.

53. Gods Universal absolute Laws may not be nulled, abrogated, derogate, relaxed or dispensed with by any Creature whatsoever.

54. It is a great Law of God, about the modes of holy Assemblies and worship, that all be done, 1. to his Glory, 2. and

2. and to Edification : For they are the very *natural Law*, which determineth of the *End of Instituted mediate Laws*.

55. The Grand Law of *LOVE* is the first and last, the *Summary* and the *final Law* of God ; that is, to *LOVE GOD* first, in and for Himself, and then to love his Image appearing in his works, especially on the Rational creature, according to the measures of that Image on them ; which is, to Love God as God with all our heart and soul and might, and our neighbour as our selves.

56. This Love was mans great duty in Innocency ; and in perfection shall be our work in Glory.

57. This was that state of *Holiness* that man fell from, and which Christ came to reconcile and to restore him to : And which is peculiarly called *GODLINESS* or *SANCTIFICATION* in the New Testament, as distinct from *Faith*, in its narrower, mediate, official notion.

58. As the work of Christ our Redeemer and Mediator is to bring man back to God the Creator ; so *Faith* in Christ, and all Evangelical positive Institutions, are the *Bellows* and *fuel* of this Love ; and *means* to it as the *end*.

59. The *expressions* of this Love are not of equal necessity with the *Love it self* ; but some of them more mutable.

60. *Ceteris paribus* the *expressions* of our Love of God, are to be preferred before the expressions of our Love to men. But God hath made some *Great Acts* of Charity to men, to be *Greater expressions* of our Love to Himself, than some smaller *Immediate expressions* of it to Him.

61. Our Love to the whole world is a greater duty than our Love to our *Countray*, and our Love to our *Countray* is a greater duty than our Love to our *Parents*, *Magistrates*, or *our selves*; As the Goodness of the Objects is diversified.

62. In some cases God hath laid some special charge on us by his own Law, *which way first to exercise our Love*: But where he hath not so done, the *Greatest Good* in the exercises of Love is to be preferred to a *lesser*, and the *lesser* is no duty but a *sin*, when it would exclude the greater, (Comparatively).

63. If a King or Parent command me to forbear a necessary Act of Love (or expression of it) (as to save a mans *life*, or *soul* as far as I am able when there is great hope of the success) unless *finis gratia*, a Greater Good oblige me to forbear it, the Authority of the commander doth not oblige me; as not dissolving Gods obligations.

64. The command of *Order* and *Decency* in the celebration of publick worship in the Assemblies, is a general precept of *Natural right*: But it is only *the media*, which (in some cases *propter finem*) do cease; that is, when necessity imposeth some *disorder* and *undecency*, as without which the *end* or thing ordered must be forsaken; and so they cease to be a *means*. But out of such cases of *Necessity*, they are of perpetual obligation.

65. Though *Order* and *Decency* be necessary, and some particular circumstances by which it is expressed indefinitely; yet not always the *very same* Circumstance and expression: But *one* may serve as well as *another*.

66. If one man will call these mutable Circumstances, (as genuflexion, putting off the hat, &c.) by the name of *Worship*, and so say that *man may command new external worship*; And another will call them only *Circumstances of worship*, and not worship, and then say that *man may*

not command new acts of worship] this is but *lis de nomine*: and they must agree first of the sense of the word *worship* before they trouble the Church with strife.

67. I will instance in twenty particulars in which we called *Puritans* and *Non-conformists* do grant that it belongeth not to the Perfection of Gods word particularly to determine, but on'y to give *General Laws* for determination.

1. What day and hour (besides the Lords day) the Church shall meet. 2. Of what length Readings, Sermons, prayers and meetings shall be. 3. When and how often publick fasts and thanksgivings are to be celebrated. 4. In what place the Church shall meet. 5. Of the convenient shape of the Temples, Ornaments, seats, bells, Clocks, &c. 6. Of the place and shape of the Pulpit, reading place, font, table, &c. 7. Of the subject of the present Sermon. 8. Of the Method of the Sermon. 9. Of the words of Sermon and prayers and praises. 10. Of the using or not using Sermon notes, or other helps for memory. 11. What translation of the Scripture shall be used. 12. And what Version or Meter of the singing Psalms. 13. And what tune they shall be sung in, and with what melody. 14. What form or words of Catechism shall be used. 15. What comeliness shall be observed in vesture or habit, in publick worship. 16. By what signs we shall profess our consent to the Common faith and Covenant; whether by standing up, or speaking, or writing, or holding up the hand, &c. 17. By what Gestures in publick worship, decency and order shall be shewed and kept. 18. Of abundance of Church Utensils in Baptism, and the Lords Supper, fonts, vessels, Cups, cloaths, tables, &c. 19. Of circumstantial Officers and their offices, *circa Sacra*; as Clarks, Church-wardens, door-keepers, &c. 20. When any of the people shall speak
in

in the Assembly, and who : and when they shall be silent.

But because the Concession of all these, and all of the same nature, will not serve turn, how odious is our doctrine of *Scripture perfection* made ? and we our selves are judged unmeet (notwithstanding the necessities of many hundred thousand souls) to preach the common doctrine of the Gospel.

CHAP. III.

Of the Power of Kings, and the peoples obedience.

1. **K**ings and all other supream Powers are the Officers of God the Creator, and of Christ the Redeemer, to whom all power is given by the Father.

2. All their Power is *derived* from God, and *subordinate* to him.

3. Therefore they can have no *more than* he giveth them.

4. He is the *End* as well as the Original of their power ; and they have none but for him and his ends , which is His *Pleasure* and *Glory* and the *publick good*.

5. Their *own Honour* is included in both these ; both as part of the splendor or *Glory of God* in the *Image* of his soveraignty, and as part of the common good, they themselves being a Constitutive part of the society.

6. Therefore it is lawful for Kings and all Magistrates to go much further than private men in preserving their

Honour; (Though even they are in very great danger of excess, and pride.)

7. Therefore *no Creature* hath an *Absolute* or *unlimited* power; because they are all *limited by God the universal Sovereign*. They that with fiery indignation have numbered this doctrine with our errors, should have considered, that how small a matter soever it is, to say that all the *lives and estates* of the subject, are *unlimitedly* at every *Sovereigns will*, yet it is not a small thing for a *Divine* to hold, that a King may make Laws to command men to *curse God or deny him*, or *renounce Christ* and the hope of salvation, or to kill father, or mother without cause &c. which must follow if he be *unlimited by God*. Dr. *Sibthorpe* never said so.

8. It is one of the tricks of the *Enemies of Sovereignty*, cunningly to maintain that Kings have a *Power* to do all the mischief in the world, and want nothing but a *will*; that so they may put the subjects in a *fright* when they hear the description of one that is impowred to do so much evil, and may make them still *distrustful*; as thinking that one mans will is insufficient security for all their *estates and lives and souls*; and so may turn their Love and trust, into hatred and distrust. Therefore such flatterers are hated by wise Princes.

9. The people have not (as many Politicians ill affirm) the *Majestas realis*, the supream power, either to *give* or to *exercise*; no nor any *Governing power* at all, *quæ populis*; but only where the Government being in part or in whole *Democratical*, the constitution giveth it them as *Rulers*.

10. It is not every mans natural power over himself conjoynd by the voluntary consent of many, that is the Original of Political power (or *Sovereignty*) they being specifically distinct: nor is it left to the will of men whether there shall be Government or not.

11. Nor doth the Power of Kings arise naturally from Paternal Power; nor do they need to prove themselves of the eldest house, to prove their right to Government.

12. But God as the Universal Ruler hath signified his will in the nature of man and of things, that he will have the world live in Political order, and have Government and obedience; so that it is Commanded by him in the Law of Nature, antecedently to mens voluntary conjunction (though it may possibly fall out that some incapable Individuals, (as those cast upon a foreign continent or solitude) may be under no such obligation.)

13. The people therefore give not the King or any other Sovereigns their Power.

14. Their power resulteth from Gods Law which instituteth Government, under him, and that immediately, as to any mediate Donation though not immediately, as without any mediate condition *sine qua non*. For though Originally the peoples consent was necessary to determine of the person, or in hereditary Government, of the family, that should receive the power from God; yet that is no Donation of the Power itself. Even as the Kings Charter immediately giveth the power of a Mayor or Bailiff to a Corporation, though by the same Charter the people choose that person that shall receive it. Or as a woman chooseth the man that shall be her Husband, but giveth him not the Government of her, for that is given by Gods institution to that person whom she contracteth with; and if she should agree with him that he should not be her Governor, it were a nullity.

15. The chief use of Kings and Magistrates is, to rule according to Gods Universal Laws, and to see them put in execution as far as the Ends of Government require in this world.

16. To which end they are to make Laws of their own.

17. Their own Laws argue not the imperfection of Gods Laws, nor stand in co-ordination with them as a supplement; but are meerly like the by-Laws, or Local Laws of Corporations, subordinate to the Universal Laws of the King, and made only by a power given by him: Kings themselves being much more under God, than Justices are under them.

18. The Sovereign Power is unlimited and absolute, to as any limitation of any superior humane Power. (else it were not Sovereign).

19. But besides that it is ever limited by God, it may be also limited by Contract with the people, called by some Fundamental or Constitutive Laws; when a people that have a right to their lives, limbs, liberties and estates, do in the constitution of the Common-wealth, secure these from the Absolute will of the Sovereign; and reserve cases of innocency in which they shall not be taken away: which are called the peoples Liberties.

20. Absolute slaves have no Liberties or security for their Lives, limbs or estates.

21. A Domination over slaves is not finally for their good, but for the will or benefit or ends of the Lord or proprietary.

22. A Common-wealth is not a society of slaves, but of free subjects, and of such a Sovereign as is to Rule for the publick Good of the society.

24. He is the wisest and happiest King, that by his Government most promoteth the publick Good; which also is his chiefest Honour.

23. They are the wisest Counsellours of Kings that most inseparably twist their interests with the peoples, and so promote them: And they are their most pernicious enemies,

nemies, that would ~~unite~~ *unite* and *separate* their interests, and set them in jealousies of one another, and in a striving how to get all from one another to themselves.

25. Humane Lawgivers may subordinately determine of those things in *particular*, which God hath only commanded in *general*; when the ends of Government require a Legal determination of them.

26. As Gods Laws bind us by *Primitive power* to a *conscientious* obedience, so the *Kings Laws* bind us by a *Derived power* to *conscientious* obedience, which some ineptly call *binding Conscience* : The meaning is, mens Laws bind the *man*, and therefore primarily the *soul* (which they call the Conscience) ; And there is no obligation at all of Laws, which is not primarily on the *soul*. And this obligation we must be conscious of : Irons and Cords do bind the body immediately. To deny therefore that mens Laws thus bind the Conscience is to deny them to be Laws.

27. But as *Conscience* is taken Theologically, for the judgement of a man of himself, as he is subject to the judgement of God, so it is all one to say, [*men rule our Consciences*] and [*men are God*]. It is a contradiction, and can be no controverfie. Therefore we verily believe that there is no difference among us in this point, which confounded heads pretend so wide a difference in : For it is scarce possible.

28. Though men may as aforesaid *bind Consciences*, that is, bind the soul to conscionable obedience under God, yet can they not bind us *against Conscience*; that is, against the *Conscience* of our duty to God, when we *do not err* ; for that is to bind us to *sin against God* when we *know it* to be sin.

29. Whoever disobeyeth Gods known Law, because man commandeth him; preferreth man to God; and incurreth Gods displeasure and judgements.

30. Conscience is not a Law-giver, Governour, or maker of duty, but a discernor of duty made by Laws.

31. It is therefore their error that say *Conscience* maketh it a mans duty to sin; or maketh it no sin to do what God forbiddeth: An erring Conscience *ligat non obligat*; ensnareth in a necessity of sinning till it be rectified, but doth not make sin to be none.

32. It is therefore the practice of the muddy-headed troublers of the world, to pretend that the Controversie betwixt us is, whether the *King or Conscience* be the *supream Governour*; whereas we hold that Conscience is no Governour at all unless as your eyes that read the Law, or your understanding which knoweth it and your duty, may be equivocally called Governours. But the question (if they will make any difference from us) must be this, [whether the Conscience or apprehension of our duty to God, and of his Commands, or of the Kings Commands, should be most prevalent with us for obedience?] Either dispute this, or go on to rave against us in your dreams.

33. God doth not change his Laws, because or when men err in their understanding of them: But whatever antecedently is commanded; he still commandeth though men think he forbiddeth it. And whatever he forbids he still forbiddeth; which men think that he forbiddeth it not or commandeth it.

34. The *esse vel non esse* is antecedent to the *scire esse vel non esse*: And when ever men ask, [How shall we know? or, who shall judge?] Every man of brains will consider, that [either the thing really is, or it is not; which is to be known and judged of.]

35. The common cheat of the ignorant in all these kind of disputes is, by suppressing or overlooking the question *de esse*, and beginning with the question *de scire vel judicare*: and asking first, [who shall be the judge?]

36. So

36. So some ask [what is our duty when one saith this is the truth, and another saith nay but that is the truth?] *Ans.* It is antecedently true, that either *this, or that, or neither is the truth* And (supposing it revealed to you) God bindeth you to believe that which really is the truth, whatever men say against it.

37. So some say, that if the King command one thing, and Conscience tell me, that God doth command another thing, which must I obey?] *Ans.* It is antecedently true, that either God doth command the contrary, or he doth not: If he doth, you are bound to obey him, and not the King. If he do not, you are bound to obey the King. For your *knowledge or ignorance* changeth not Gods Laws.

38. So it is asked, what shall a man do whose Conscience telleth him that this or that (commanded perhaps by man) is duty or sin, commanded or forbidden by God, but yet is not absolutely certain?] *Ans.* Either (antecedently) *it is a duty, or sin, or it is not*: If it be, he is bound to do it, or forbear it accordingly; whatever he think of it himself: His doubts change not Gods Laws.

39. So the question is, *what a man should do that hath an erring Conscience?* *Ans.* 1. An erring Conscience is improperly called Conscience; because error is not properly science: But let that pass. 2. He is under a double obligation: The first is to *obey Gods Laws*, about which he erreth: The second is, *to lay by his error*.

40. Quest. *But must he in the mean time go against his Conscience?* *Ans.* No; nor against Gods Law: what God hath conjoynd, none of your questions must tempt us to put asunder: He is still under the double obligation of *rectifying Conscience, and obeying God*. And both must be done and not one alone.

41. Quest. *But it is supposed that he cannot change his judgement. What then must he do?* *Ans.* Were it through

a *natural* inculpable impotency and impossibility, the Law would not oblige him, and so there would be no Law and no transgression: But that which we speak of is a *moral* Impotency, through the vicious blindness of the mind, and corruption of the *will*; and God will not change his Laws, because men are sinfully indisposed to obey them: When you have questioned to the utmost, the double obligation still remaineth: And so you must be answered.

42. *But what order here must we observe; must we not change our judgement before we can obey?* *Ans.* The obligations to both are both at once; But because an *undiscerned command* cannot be obeyed, the order of *natural necessity* is, that you *first rectifie your judgement*, and then obey the other commands.

43. *But how shall a man rectifie his erring judgement?* *Ans.* Gods means are commonly known, though not commonly used. Hear, read, meditate, pray, forbear the sin which grieveth your Guide; cast out corrupt affections, passions and lusts, and lay by carnal interests that would pervert the judgement.

44. *Quest. But what must we do till all this can be done?* *Ans.* You must hasten your cure with all diligence. For till it be done you will certainly live in sin.

45. So also if the Magistrates commands be *lawful* (the *esse* still being antecedent to the *scire*) and yet the subject think them unlawful, his error will not justify his disobedience: but he is bound to *judge* better and to obey.

46. And if the Magistrates commands be against our duty to God, and the subject think them to be lawful, his errors will not make them or his obedience to them to be lawful.

47. Those persons who make it the principle of their obedience, that *[we must obey the Magistrate when we are uncertain,*

uncertain, whether it be sin which he commandeth or not ; because we are certain that obedience is a duty, and the certain part must be preferred before the uncertain] I hope do not err with the flagitious aggravations (*villanie, pious-wickedness, impudency &c.*) which the *Non-conformists* errors are charged with ; But rather only the dust of worldly business and contention may have confounded and sullied Natures tables, or the heat of passion may have melted down its tender Characters.

48. Were this universally and formally true, it would follow, that a mans blindness, error, ignorance, and so his doubtfulness, and uncertainty would justify him in any villany against God and nature, that man can command : For instance, An *Indian* may be certain that it is his duty to obey his King, and yet uncertain whether it be a sin to murder his parents, to eat his enemies, to be adulterous, perjured, &c. A *Turk* may know that it is his duty to obey his Prince, but be uncertain whether it be a sin to curse Jesus Christ and renounce him, and to believe in *Mahomet* &c. A *Papist* may know that it is his duty to obey his King, and yet not know whether it be a sin to worship the bread as God, and to torment those that are called *Hereticks*, or to worship Images, or suppress the Scriptures, &c. And all this should be done according to this rule, if Rulers be but bad enough to command it. Nay if the Popes own subjects at *Rome* do but doubt whether it be a sin when he commandeth them, to go and murder a forreign Prince, must they do this think you, because of their uncertainty of the matter ?

49. If the matter were *unrevealed*, and so men were uncertain, because God had not made known his mind, then their Rule of precedency were to be regarded ; But if God have sufficiently revealed his will, no vicious uncertainty of it will make it a duty or lawful, to obey the contrary command of man.

50. It is one thing to be sure that *I must obey my Rulers in all things lawful*, another thing to be sure that *I must obey them hic & nunc*: The Rule obtruded on us confoundeth these; And so is meerly fallacious. For the former is nothing at all to our business: And of the second, I can be no more certain, than I am whether it be a lawful thing which is commanded by them: for as I am sure in general that I must obey them in things lawful, I am as sure that I must not obey them in things forbidden by God. Therefore so far as I am uncertain whether the thing be sinful or not, I must be as uncertain whether I must or may obey my Rulers in that thing.

51. And we called *Puritans* (being the more out of love with Confusion for the effects of it in this age among Divines) do use also farther to distinguish, of a *greater evil* and a *lesser*, (when *neither* of them is to be *chosen* because *neither* is *good*.) And we say it is an *aggravated Crime* to choose a *Greater sin* before a *less*, when a man hath brought himself into a present moral impotency of avoiding both: we distinguish also between the *Master*, or *Nature* and *weight* of the things doubted of.

And so we resolve, that if I be certain that I who am a poor low subject, am bound to obey a Justice of Peace, in all things lawful (by Gods Laws and the Kings); And a Justice commandeth me to do some little act, which I know not whether the Law forbid or not, I will obey him: But if he bid me do that, which I am in doubt whether it be *Treason*, and would endanger the *life of the King*, or the *safety* of his Kingdoms, though I be *uncertain*, yet I will forbear.

And if a Ruler bid me read a Chapter in the old Testament to day, and I be uncertain whether God would not have me read one in the New Testament, as fitter to the
Auditors,

Auditors, I will obey my Rulers in this case, not because I am *certain at all that hic & nunc* it is my duty *formally* to obey them; but because I take the *disobeying* them, in case it *should* now prove a sin, to be a *Greater sin*, than the *mischoosing of the Chapter* would be if *that* should prove the sin; and to choose the *greater sin*, is a greater aggravation of that great sin.

But on the other side, if man command me the doings, or the omissions, which if they should prove unlawful would prove to be *Perjury*, yea the stigmatizing of *Cities and Corporations, Church and Kingdoms* in the front with P. E. R. or would prove a *murdering of mens souls*; and if on the contrary, it should prove lawful to do these things, yet the not doing them will have no other evil, than *not obeying the Law*; (in *such uncertainty*) or my own *personal suffering*; here I would rather *not obey*, being *uncertain* of the matter commanded. Not because I *am sure* which is my duty at all in it self; but that I am sure that to prefer the *greater evil*, when I *know* not the good, is an *aggravation* of that evil: And *so to sin*, is a double and more dangerous sin.

52. Every Rational creature under Heaven hath a judgment of Discerning, called a *Private judgment*, by which all must *try, know* and *guide* their duties to God and man: And to deny them this is to make them *Bruits*, and *Kings* to be but *Governours of Cattel*; and to tell men, that they must not know *when* to obey or *whom*: And it is to go against the judgment of all the sober world.

53. But no subject as such, or private man, hath any *Publick decisive judgment*; nor must in cases Religious or Civil claim the least degree thereof.

54. Inferior Magistrates have all their Power from the King as *supream*.

55. There is no *external coactive or forcing power*, no
not

not about matters Religious or Ecclesiastical, but in the King and Magistracie; and therefore none in Churchmen or in any subjects, unless as Magistrates under the King. That is, no other hath the power of the sword, or to touch the Bodies or Estates of men.

56. Power may be called [EXTERNAL] or Internal in several respects; 1. In regard of the *Agent*: And so the Spirit of God hath the *Internal Power*, and Magistrates, Parents and Pastors have *External*.

2. In regard of the *Actions commanded*, Internal or external: And so the Power of Magistrates is both *Internal* and *External*, that is, They may command inward fidelitie, honour, &c. to God, to Parents and to themselves (though they cannot see when it is performed alone;) And they may command *outward* actions; But the *later* is their most common work. And Pastors have both *Internal* and *External* power; And may in Gods name as his Ministers, command inward Love and Repentance, and outward worshipping of God, Prayers, Sacraments, Assemblies, Confessions, learning Catechisms, obeying the King and Parents, &c.

3. In regard of the *Act* or *instrument* of Government. And so God hath the *Internal Power*, because he only can by *Internal spiritual agency* rule the mind: And Kings and Pastors have the *external Power*, that is, do Govern by *Voice* and *Writings*, which are external signs and means.

4. In regard to the *part* of the *subject Governed*: And so the Power of Magistrates is both *Internal* and *external*; for they Govern both *mind* and *body*: For there is no Ruling of mens *Bodies* by *Laws*, unless they first rule the *mind*: for Laws force not the Locomotive power immediately. And so Pastors have both *External* and *Internal Power*, because by Gods word they Rule first the *mind*, and by that the *Body*; as to forbear sin, to worship God, &c.

5. In

5. In regard of the *Nearest Ruling Act*. And so the King and Magistrate hath the *Internal* and *External* Power : *Internal*; because he may speak in his *Precepts* to the *Mind* even in Gods name, as well as Ministers may : *External*, because he may *punish the body* immediately. But Pastors so have none of the *External Power*, because they touch not the *outward man*, that is, *Body* or *Purse* immediately, nor *Rule it* but only *mediately* by perswading the *Mind* : so that if you will ambiguously apply the name of *External Power*, only to *Coercive* or *Coactive* Power by *Outward force*, no subject, no Pastors have any such, but only the King and Magistrates.

57. O that Kings would once all agree to make the Church and world so happy, as to keep all this *External forcing power* to themselves : and not to trust it in the hands of Clergymen, nor lend their swords to angry Priests to revenge their quarrels on one another ; nor yet be themselves the *meer Executioners* of the sentences of the Presbyters or Prelats ; but if they will needs quarrel, leave them to do it with their proper weapons, while the Magistrate himself doth repress their insolencies, and keep the peace. The worst Magistrates almost were like to use the sword more harmlessly, than the Secular Clergy hath hitherto done, through most of all the Christian world.

58. Though Kings have no *Authority against God*, they have a Power which it is too possible to abuse to sin, against many of Gods Laws, and yet not forfeit their office or true Authority thereby.

59. In case of *some abuse* of Power, the subject may be bound to obey him that abuseth it in that *very act or thing*. That is, when it is a thing that God forbiddeth the Magistrate to *command*, but doth not forbid the subject to *do*, it may become a duty on several accounts to do that thing.

60. The

60. The reason is, because it is *Gods Law to Subjects*, and not *Gods Law to Kings*, which subjects must be ruled by, and their actions judged by.

61. And modest subjects must rather study what Laws God hath made *for themselves*, than what Laws he hath made for *Kings*: and what is their *own duty* than what is the *Kings*: (Though of this they are not bound to be ignorant.)

62. When subjects may *not obey*, yet may they not by *arms resist* authority.

63. To pretend Religion for Rebellion or sedition (which is the greatest enemy to it in the world) is to aggravate the sin, by intimated blasphemy against the Author of Religion.

64. When subjects suffer from Kings for obeying God, they must not take occasion by it to *dishonour Kings* by aggravating the injury: Because the Kings honour is more necessary to the publick peace and welfare, than the righting of a subjects injured reputation is.

65. Therefore we must nor make too great a noise in complaining of such sufferings, nor make them seem greater than they are; but rather (secretly rejoycing in Gods justification of the innocent) openly take as much of the blame to our selves as we can in truth, and mention the *benefits* which we have by *suffering*, and the *Commonwealth* by *Magistracie*.

66. It is not lawful for any Pastors to publish *excommunications* against Kings, (no nor against *Parents*, or any *Magistrates*, on whose *Honour* the publick good dependeth.) The reason is, because that the *Natural Law* of *honouring Rulers* taketh place of the *positive institution* of excommunication: the later being but a *means* to those *ends* which are collateral with the former; are no duties when contrary to *such ends* or greater duties: which

which made Christ send the Pharisees to learn [what that *meaeth*, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*] And affirmatives bind not *ad semper*.

67. But if a Pope or Prelate or Presbytery, to whom Kings never committed the care of their souls, shall by usurpation pretend to a power over Kings, which they have not, and so excommunicate them to their publick dishonour, this is a more hainous crime; being treasonable in subjects, and hostility in foreigners.

68. Yet those Pastors whom Princes have chosen to that special trust, must be very faithful in acquainting them with their sins and duty to God, and not for fear or flattery betray their souls and the publick good.

69. And so great is the sin of Tyranny and oppression and persecution, and so grand an impediment to the Gospel and mens salvation among *Turks*, *Tartarians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, and the far greatest part of all the world, that all wise and good Princes will take those for their most pernicious enemies, that would by flattery tempt them to so great a sin, (though on pretence of honouring them)

C H A P. IV.

The Judgement of the Author concerning the Power of Princes and the obedience of Subjects, more fully ; with his Profession of Loyalty, and Renunciation of Treasonable, Seditious and Rebellious Principles and Practices.

THat mistake, design or malice may not make a charge of disloyalty, or seditious principles and minds, to pass for a pretence of our restraint from the preaching of the Gospel, which we were devoted to in our Ordination, three things seem needful for us to make known. I. What are the principles of policie, which we hold. II. Our profession, resolution and promise as to our practice. III. what disloyal, Traiterous and seditious opinions and practices we renounce.

I. About the first our straight is great : If we make not known our principles, we shall be suspected for concealing them ; And any mistake which any one of us was guilty of, even in our unexperienced youth, though corrected and rejected, will be charged still on him, and on others that never owned it ; And shameless false accusers will defame us, as holding that which never came into our thoughts. And if we publish our judgements, how easily and certainly will ignorance and ill-will take occasion to calumniate, and draw blood from the truest soundest words ? But we will do what we judge to be our duty, and leave it to God to stop the mouth of all inquiry,

iniquity, and will stay till malice and falsehood be silenced by the Father of lights.

1. We hold that though it be very useful to the Ministers of the Gospel to study Politicks, yet is it not necessary that they be able to decide political controversies; much less that they equall Lawyers in the knowledge of the Laws; and therefore that they should not without necessity, be forward to meddle in such matters, much less to take on them to condemn the most of the Lawyers of the world, as if we were wiser in the matters of their profession than they: And least of all should we *swear against* their common sentiments, or that they are all deceived, and that we are wiser than all they. Though yet we should know so much, as is requisite to our due understanding of the matter of our duty and our doctrine, which we must teach.

2. By [*Authority*] here we mean [*A Right and Obligation to Govern particular societies by Legislation (or precept) and Judgement, for the Common good, in subordination to God, the only supream universal Governour, and his universal Laws and final judgement.*]

3. GOD is the fountain or first efficient chief Ruler, and ultimate end, of all true *Authority* (or Right of Government): For of him, and through him, and to him are all things.

4. God hath made no Universal Vicarious meer humane Governour under himself, Civil or Ecclesiastical, Personal or Collective, (Pope or Council): nor ordained any Universal Teacher or Apostle; Though he sent forth many into all the world Indefinitely to Teach as many as they could. For no mortal man, or Collective body is naturally capable of it.

5. Therefore he that claimeth such an Apostolick and Ecclesiastical Power as *Vicarions* with Obligation to ex-

ercise it, condemneth himself for betraying the most of mankind, for he doth not exercise it at the Antipodes, or to the fifth part of the world.

Obj. No more doth Christ who yet is the Universal Teacher. Answ. Christ is the Light of the world, and all things are committed into his hand: And though he send not preachers of the Gospel eventually to all, he sendeth them all that commoner Light, means and mercies which call them to Repentance, and to seek to a pardoning gracious God; so that his Teaching and Rule is universal, though not equally.

6. The Pope claimeth an Universal Power of Government, over all Christian Princes and Staes, yea over all the world: And the Papist Doctors assert it in their writing; some in things *spiritual*; some in *things spiritual and temporal*, and some in *things spiritual and in temporals in order to spirituals*. Accordingly in their Councils they make Decrees which shall be obligatory to Kings and Kingdoms, and have declared themselves empowered to set up Princes and pull them down, to excommunicate and depose them, and force them to Oaths and obedience, or else to give their Dominions to others that will obey: yea if they will not burn or exterminate all as Hereticks who hold the Christian Doctrine which we call Protestant, yea that will not in the matter of Transubstantiation, deny belief to all mens senses. By which claim of Government over all Kings, and Laws for such execution, we suppose that the *Roman* Pope declareth himself to be *Hostis publicus* to all Christian Princes and States who do not voluntarily make themselves his subjects, and alloweth them to judge and use him accordingly.

7. God hath given Power to none against himself, or his Laws.

8. God

8. God hath given power to none to destroy the *Common good* ; except such Kingdoms as the *Canaanites, &c.* that by revelation were judged to destruction, or such particular Countries as by unjust enmity to their neighbours may by the Law of Nature and Nations be destroyed for the necessary preservation of the rest.

9. Therefore all Laws and Mandates that are notoriously against God or his Laws, or the common safety (that is, destructive to the Common-wealth and welfare) are *ipso facto null*, or not obligatory, no more than a Justices precepts against the King.

10. *Submission* yet may be a duty, and *resistance* a sin, where *obedience* is not due ; of which more anon in due place.

11. The people are not the fountain of *power*, nor the donors of it ; nor, as such, have they any right to Governing, either to *use* themselves or to *give to others* ; Though they or part of them may have some in Democracies by the species of the Government, or in mixt Governments ; but otherwise they have none by Nature. The Government of Republicks is not by an arbitrary Collation of each mans personal power to some one : But God hath prevented them, and made it necessary by the Law of Nature and Scripture, that there be Governours as his Officers under him, to whom the people shall submit, in all cases where such can be had ; and hath given them universal Laws according to which they must Rule.

12. But because *Nature* hath given no one person or family a Right more than others, to Rule Kingdoms antecedently to the peoples consent, therefore the people had at the forming of such societies the choice of those persons or families that should govern, and without their consent none were capable recipients of that power : so
that

that as the Kings Charter immediately giveth the power of a Mayor, or Bailiff to the person whom the Citizens shall choofe, which choice giveth him no power but only maketh him capable to receive it from the Kings Charter; even fo Gods Law and Charter obligeth the people to choofe or consent to that family or person that shall Rule them, and giveth Authority (with obligation to use it) to those whom the said consent hath made the capable due recipients.

13. Therefore Mr. *Hookers* maxime is false as to Governing Power, that [the King is *singulis major*, but *universis minor*:] and so is his assertion that all power of Legislation is *naturally* in the *whole body* (what it may be by the *Constitution* or *species* of the Government, is nothing to that question), and his talk of the Sovereigns dependence on, yea and *subjection to the body*, and his assertion that when the line is extinct [the *power cometh by escheate to the people*] and many such like; In all which he mistaketh the Power of *choosing* Governours, who shall receive power from God only, for the power it self of *Governing*, which the people as such have not at all. The King is not *Universis melior* indeed, but the *Bonum publicum* is the end of his Government, and the good of all the Kingdom is better than his own, and more his end; but yet even there his *own Honour and welfare*, is part of the *Publick Good and End*. But whoever hath the *whole supream power* in any Kingdom or other Republick, is *universis major*.

14. *Propriety* is *naturally antecedent* to Government, which doth not Give it, but regulate it to the *Common good*: Every man is born with a propriety in his *own members*, and nature giveth him a propriety in his *Children*, and his *food* and other just *acquisitions* of his industry. Therefore no Ruler can justly deprive men of their propriety,

priety, unless it be by some *Law of God* (as in execution of Justice on such as forfeit it) or by their *own consent*, by *themselves* or their *Delegates* or *Progenitors*; And *mens lives* and *Liberties* are the chief parts of their propriety. That is the peoples just reserved *Property*, and *Liberty*, which neither *God taketh from them*, by the power which his own Laws give the Rulers, nor is given away by their *own* forefaid consent.

15. Usurpers have no true Power (or *Jus regendi*); nor do their commands (whether they be *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical* Usurpers) bind any one in Conscience to formal obedience; nor may they be set up and defended against the Lawful Governour. But *materially* many good and lawful things may be done which they command, when the *Common good* and *personal safety* require it, without owning their *authority as true*, which is *none*, and without *formal obedience*.

16. Those are Usurpers, Civil or Ecclesiastical, who have not authority given them by God, immediately nor mediately: *Inferior* Magistrates have authority from God, in that they have it from the King, or other supreme Rulers, whom God empowereth to make inferior Magistrates, as their officers.

17. A Person utterly incapable receiveth no Authority from God.

18. Those are Usurpers (Civil or Ecclesiastical) who by force or fraud depose the Lawful Governour and take his place: And those that *sede vacante* seize on the place without any consent of the people; either on pretence of meer conquest, or (as *Mahomet*) on false pretence of Divine revelation or Commission, or on pretence of their greater worthiness: saving that the supream Power may impose on the people his inferior officers, and they are bound to obey them.

19. They

19. They that are made Rulers only of one kind or from of a Republick, and shall without authority from God or the peoples consent change that kind or form of Government into another, and assume that other, are Usurpers as to that new usurped form, though not as to the former.

20. Government is the conjunct exercise of *Power*, *wisdom* and *Love*, for the right ordering of the Commonwealth for the present and future happiness of the people and the Governours.

21. God is Love and ruleth us as *our Father*; and his works of Love are his most Lovely representation; And that is the best Governour who is likest unto God: when Love is the predominant principle in Government, and Prince and people dearly love each other; that Kingdom is likest unto heaven! Yet must Rulers be a terrour to the wicked.

22. Subjects are bound to take their Rulers, not as their *own creatures*, to set up and take down as the Roman Souldiers did: (For then to obey a Ruler would be but radically to obey themselves, or to obey their servants): But as the Officers of God, who communiceth authority to them, and so to honour and obey God in them, as we do the King in his inferiour Magistrates: And so to obey for Conscience sake.

23. Subjects are bound not only to fear their Rulers, but to *Love them*: and to shun that fear which tendeth to hatred.

24. God must be first obeyed, and no man against him, by breaking any of his Laws, particular or general.

25. But if Governours command us to sin against God, though Subjects must not obey them, yet must they patiently suffer wrong and not resist them by rebellion: Much less may they use arms without their consent, to reform

reform others, or to bring in any novelty, yea or the true Religion by such unauthorized violence.

26. The inferior Magistrates are the subjects of the King, as well as the meanest men, and therefore have no power to depose him, or to take up arms against him any more than other subjects.

27. Subjects must not only forbear all Treason, sedition or rebellion by arms, but must prefer the Kings life before each of their own, and must hazard their lives when called to it, to preserve him; and must resist all conspiracies against him.

28. If we are wronged by unjust defamations or oppression or persecution, as long as Rulers *destroy not the Common-wealth*, particular Subjects must not vindicate their own right so much as by *disbonouring* their Sovereign; because his honour is more necessary than our Rights to the common good.

29. The Union of the King and people is the life of the Kingdom; and dividing is destroying: Therefore an *Uniting* of their *Interests* is a chief point in policie; and setting their Interests as divided in opposition or suspicion of each other is pernicious.

30. Therefore it is against the Constitution of the Common-wealth, for the King to raise war against his Kingdom as their enemy, or for the Kingdom to raise war against the King: King *James* asserts the first, and the Reason of Government proveth both.

31. The command of a Prince, (whether sober or in drink, or passion) to any subject, to destroy the Prince himself (as *Saul* did command one) or to destroy the Common-wealth, or to break the Laws of God, or the fixed Laws of the Land, will not justify the subject that obeyeth that command, nor doth give him right to impu-

nity before God, or in the Courts of Justice, except in such cases as the Law it self excepteth.

32. The Time, Place and other circumstances of duty are not always to be the same; And the Rulers command to alter such unfixed circumstances, when it destroyeth not the substance, is to be obeyed; though the prohibition of the *duty it self* (Praying, preaching, hearing, Sacraments, alms) is not to be obeyed, because Gods authority is the highest.

33. Though no mans command can warrant us to sin against God, yet some things which are antecedently sinful but by a *smaller Accident* (as that it offendeth one of my neighbours) may become a duty by the Law of the King, that Law and the consequents of the action, being more preponderating circumstances to oblige us to do it, than the other is against it.

34. Though Princes are under the obligation of *Gods Laws* and their *own contracts*, as well as others; yet as *Laws* are the Instruments of Government, no one is under a Law as such that is not under Government. And therefore no Sovereign is under his own Laws as Governing Laws; though he may by the bonds of *fidelity and justice* and for the *Common good* be obliged to Govern the subjects by them, and to be exemplary in what concerneth himself, and be under those contracts which are called *Fundamental or Constitutive Laws*, made by common consent to secure the subjects rights: which I suppose is *R. Hookers* meaning when he saith that *Lex facit Regem*, and that the King hath so much power as the Law giveth him.

35. Though Politicks and Lawyers tell us that *Legislative power* is the first part of the *supream power*, and who ever hath part in the Legislative power hath part in the supream power, yet that is not meant of such a derived

derived power as Corporations may have by Charter, to make only Local by-Laws for themselves, which bind not the Common-wealth.

36. As to the cases which Politicks, Lawyers, and Divines, Papiſts and Proteſtants, inſtance in (ſuch as *Barclay, Grotius, Biſſon, &c.*) in which ſubjects may reſiſt Kings by arms, we leave them to thoſe that are fitter Judges; concluding only that, 1. No humane power can abrogate the Law of Nature; 2. that God hath limited all humane power; 3. that their own contracts limit them; 4. That ſubjects ſhould not be tempted to odious thoughts of Kings, by the ſavage deſcription of them, as being authorized to burn, rob, kill the innocent at their pleaſure, if they will not renounce God, Chriſt or humanity, and to deſtroy all the people. Such deſcriptions are made by the enemies of Government. 5. That commiſſioned ſubjects or Souldiers are not Kings, but ſubjects ſtill, and under Law. 6. That if we ſhould ſee a Commiſſion under the broad Seal, to ſeize on the Kings guards, forts, treaſure, navy, or hurt the King, or deſtroy Monarchy, or deliver the Kingdom to foreigners, or to deſtroy the Kingdom, Laws, Property, Parliament, City cauſeleſſly, we are bound to judge that the treachery of the keeper of the Seal or ſome other and not the King was the author of ſuch a Commiſſion. 7. All men ſhould love their Country and the common good better than their lives.

That it may appear that we reſuſe not the Corporation Oath and Declaration, the *Oxford* Oath, or the ſubſcription required by the Act of Uniformity, out of any diſloyalty or ill deſign, we offer to declare, ſubſcribe, profeſs and promiſe as followeth.

I. I do unfeignedly Assent and Consent to every word of God in the sacred Scripture, which describeth the Power of Kings, or other Governours, and which describeth or commandeth the Subjects duty to their governours, and which forbiddeth rebellion, or any other sin against them.

This profession I drew up even by Dr. *Seamans* advice who was taken to be no more compliant with the present Government than other *Nonconformists*.

II. Though I take not General Councils for the Rule of my faith or obedience, yet having with some diligence perused the Decrees of those that are so called, I find not in any of them any more Power ascribed to Kings or other civil Governours, than I do willingly subscribe to and acknowledge; excepting the powers which the Papal King of *Rome* doth arrogate to himself, or pretend to give to others, or place in them as his executors.

III. I find not in the publick *Confessions of faith* of any of the Protestant Churches; or any of the Greek Churches, or of the Roman, any more power ascribed to Kings or other Civil Governours, than I subscribe to and acknowledge; except as before excepted of the Roman Papacie.

IV. I find not any commonly named Parties of Divines in their *writings* (Greeks, Papists, Protestants, whether Lutherans, Reformed, Episcopal, or Presbyterian,) who wrote before the year 1640. who do generally (as to the stream or commonest doctrine) ascribe any more to Kings or other civil Governor, than I willingly subscribe to and acknowledge, except as before excepted of the Pope and Papists.

V. Of

V. Of all the Greek, Roman and Arabian Philosophers, and Orators, of all the Historians, the Authors of Politicks, and Civil Lawyers that I have read, I find many that are against Monarchy, but no party or sort of them that commonly give more Power to Princes than I willingly subscribe to and acknowledge, excepting as before excepted, the Papal Usurpation and the flatterers thereof.

VI. I do and shall acknowledge in the Kings Majesty all that Power whatsoever is ascribed to him in the Laws of the land, or that shall hereafter by any Law be ascribed to him, so be it, it be not contrary to the certain Law of God in Nature or Scripture, nor against the essential Constitution of the Kingdom.

VII. I do willingly take the Oath of Allegiance, and take it to be the duty of his Majesties Subjects to take the same, and faithfully to keep it.

VIII. I do willingly take the Oath of supremacy, and think that it is their error and sin who do refuse it; seeing there are so many publick declarations of the sense of it made, that his Majesty doth not hereby claim any of the *Priestly Office*, but only to have the power of the sword, so far as it is to be exercised about Causes and persons called Ecclesiastical and Civil.

IX. I do hold that it is not Lawful for any of his own Subjects to raise war or take arms against the King, either his Person, Authority, Dignity or Rights: Nor against any Lawfully Commissioned by him in his execution of that Commission; nor against any unlawfully Commis-

Commissioned by him, except the King himself by his Laws or by a cross Commission do allow such resistance, or the notorious Law of Nature doth require it.

X. Though I like not swearing obedience to any in a Kingdom but the King, yet if the King will command me to swear *due* obedience to any Judge, Magistrate, Bishop or Chancellor, in their exercise of any true power which they receive from him, (which puts me upon no sinning against God) I will obey him in taking such an Oath.

XI. Though I like not swearing obedience to Ecclesiastical persons, yet if the King command me to swear just obedience to Lawful Pastors that are over me, and that I will never endeavour the alteration of any Office or ordinance instituted by Christ, or by the Holy Ghost in his Apostles, I will obey him in so doing.

And though my judgement after 40 years diligent study be against many things in the present Diocesane Government, especially Lay Chancellors use of the Keys of Excommunication and Absolution, and the impossibility of the true and ancient discipline by the largeness of the Dioceses and paucity of Bishops, and the unchurching of all the Parishes of England; and the *oppida* or great Towns except one in a Diocese, making them all (though many hundreds or above a thousand) to be but particles of one Diocesane Church; (when *Ignatius* saith, that [*To every Church there is one Altar, and one Bishop with his fellow Presbyters and Deacons*] as the common note of Individuation: And *Cyprian* saith, *Ubi Episcopus ibi Ecclesia*: And therefore one only Bishop in a Diocese sheweth that they hold that there is but one Church in a Diocese) Yet notwithstanding my dissent, I take it to be my duty to live sub-

submissively and peaceably ; and if the King command me I will promise or swear never to endeavour any alteration or reformation by sedition, rebellion, or any other unlawful means.

XI. I do renounce all Doctrines and practices contrary to any of these aforesaid professions: And I do hold that neither the Oath nor Vow called [*the solemn League and Covenant*], nor any other Vow or Covenant, can disoblige me or any other subject from any of the aforesaid, or any other duty to God, the King, or my neighbour, or can oblige me to any sin against God or man; nor justify my disobedience to the King in things which antecedent to his command were indifferent. Otherwise a Subject might by Vowing prevent all obligations in such cases to obey his Governours. And though I know not with what sense or intention other men make Vows, I do declare that that Vow or Covenant bindeth me to nothing, which I had not been bound to had I never taken it ; because I never intended it to make me a new religion or duty, but only to be a secondary obligation to what God had obliged me to before.

III. *The disloyal, Trayterous, seditious or rebellious opinions and practices which we reject.*

WE mention not these opinions by way of accusation of others, but to vindicate our own calumniated innocence.

I. We reject the inhumane opinion of *Spinosa* in *Tract. Theol.*

Theol. Polit. and such other Infidels, who hold that sensuality is mans chief interest, and that every man hath right to any thing that he desireth if he can but get it, and that he is bound to keep his Oaths and Covenants no longer than it is for his own interest, and that he hath as good title as the Governour or possessor had, if he can but get his place or possessions, and may destroy any if he can, that hinder his desires.

II. I do (with due reverence to the persons) reject the opinion of many Authors of Politicks, and great Lawyers, who say that the *Majestas realis is in the people*, and the *Majestas Personalis in the King*, and that *Governing Power is but the Collation of each mans singular power over his own person and estate, and the committing it to one for the Common safety*. And that the people give the power, and may question the Prince, and resume it when there is cause. And so we reject the doctrine of Mr. Richard Hooker in his *Eccl. Polit.* lib. 1. and 8. (with due respect to his judiciousness) and all other Episcopal Divines of his mind, who saith that [“By the natural Law whereto
“God hath made all subject, the lawful power of making
“Laws to command whole societies of men, becometh
“eth so properly to the same entire societies, that for
“ANY Prince or Potentate, of WHAT KIND SO EVER
“UPON earth, to exercise the same of himself,
“and not either by expresse Commission immediately and
“personally received from God, or else by Authority
“derived at first from their consent upon whose persons
“they impose Laws, it is no better than meer Tyranny:
“Laws they are not which publick approbation hath not
“made so.] He maketh the peoples [giving Authority] necessary, where their Consent to the family or person that shall receive it from God is enough: And he maketh
eth

eth a part in Legislation (the chief flower of Sovereignty) which only *some of the people in some Countreys* have meerly by the *Constitution*, to be a Common effect of the Law of Nature: *Lib. 1. §. 10. pag. 21. to Lib. 8. 192, 193, 194, 220, 221, 218, 223, 224, 225.* I reject what he saith [“*Unto me it seemeth almost out of doubt and controversie that every Independent multitude before any certain form of regiment established hath under God, supream authority, full dominion over it self — In Kingdomes of this quality as this we live in, the highest Governour hath indeed Universal dominion ; but with Dependencie on that whole entire body, over the several parts whereof he hath dominion : so that it standeth for an axiom in this case, The King is singulis major, but universis minor —* Neither can any man with Reason think but that the first institution of Kings (a sufficient consideration wherefore their power should always depend on that, from which it did always flow) by original influence of power from the Body into the King, is the cause of Kings dependency in power upon the body. By Dependency we mean subordination and subjection: A manifest token of which dependency may be this ; As there is no more certain argument that lands are held under any as Lords, than if we see that such lands in defect of heirs fall unto them by escheat ; In like manner it doth follow rightly, that seeing Dominion when there is none to inherit it, returneth to the body, therefore they which before were inheritors of it did hold it in dependence on the body ; so by comparing the body with the head, as touching power it seemeth *always* to reside in both, Fundamentally and Radically in one ; in the other derivatively : In one the Habit, in the other the Act of Power (*vid. cat. passim*) — When all which the wif-

"dom of all sorts can do, is done for devising of Laws in
 "the Church, it is the general consent of all that giveth
 "them the form and vigor of Laws; without which they
 "would be no more to us than the Counsels of Physici-
 "cians to the sick: well might they seem as wholesome
 "admonitions and instructions; but Laws could they never
 "be without consent of the **WHOLE CHURCH**
 "to be guided by them, whereunto both nature and the
 "practice of the Church of God set down in Scripture,
 "is found every way so fully consonant, that God him-
 "self would not impose his own Laws upon his
 "people by the hand of *Moses*, without their free and
 "open consent. May a body Politick then *at all times*
 "withdraw in whole or in part, the influence of domini-
 "on which passeth from it, if *Inconveniences* do grow
 "thereby? — It must be presumed that supream Go-
 "vernours *will not* in such cases oppose themselves, and
 "be stiff in detaining that, the use whereof is with
 "publick detriment.—And *pag. 205.* [*If Magistrates*
 "be Heads of the Church, they are of necessity Chri-
 "stians.]

I presume not to set my weak judgement in matter
 of *politic* in contest with those very many Learned Law-
 yers or Divines who think all this, and much more like
 it to be sound; But I must say that my judg-
 ment doth reject it; The reasons whercof
Christ. Directory. I have given in a particular Confutation
 of each of these passages and more.

And against this doctrine of the Peoples giving the
 power by conjoyning all their own in one, see *D. Camdry*
 a Nonconformist's Review of Mr. *Tho. Hookers* survey
pag. 154. &c. And see *Grotius de Imperio, &c. pag. 270.*
 both concurring with me.

III. We reject their opinion who hold that the Law of Nature alloweth an *Innocent subject* to save his own Life by taking away the Kings, or by raising war against him.

IV. We reject (as is aforesaid) their opinion who hold that it is Lawful to take up Arms against the King, his *person, authority, dignity or right* *, and to pretend his *own authority*, or *Laws* for so doing: Or that it is lawful to take Arms against any *lawfully* commissioned by him; yea or *unlawfully*, unless he *himself* by his *Laws* or *cross Commission*, or the sure *Law of Nature* do authorize it.

* whether it may be done against his will, see before.

V. We reject the Papal Usurpation of a Government over Princes, by claim of an Universal Vicarship under Christ: And because the Decrees of their General Councils approved by the Pope, are their very *Religion*, and e. g. the Lateran Council *sub Innoc. 3.* decreeth that those that hold not Transubstantiation be exterminated as Hereticks, and that the secular powers shall swear to exterminate them; and if any Temporal Lords do it not, the Pope may excommunicate them, and absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, and give their dominions to others that will do it; we therefore are constrained to reject such parts of the very Religion of the Papists as a Rebellious Religion, and the Pope as a declared enemy to Christian Kings and Kingdoms, which are not his Voluntary Subjects.

VI. Seeing that by the said *Papal Religion* or *Laws*, all Protestants and others that are not Papists, are *Dead men in Law* where those Laws are received, and must be *burnt as Hereticks* or *exterminated*, and the Princes

or other secular Powers that will not swear it and execute it, are themselves to be excommunicate and deposed; we do therefore detest as treacherous to Princes, the practice of all such as would persuade *any Prince or Ruler of a Protestant, Greek or other Countrey not yet Papists, to become a Papist:* and thereby to expose himself to the *Popes deposing of him, or to destroy his own kingdom,* & to cast before his subjects a temptation to dispute such questions, as *[whether any Prince have Power from God to burn or exterminate his Kingdom? & how far they should own him which by his very Religion is obliged so to do on pains of excommunication, deposition and damnation.* But where the Kingdom are already Papists, it is only the sin against God in the destruction of *some innocents* or the Princes deposition, and not the Kingdoms destruction that is in the way.

VII. We reject the opinion whether of the Papists or of any Protestants (if there be such) who hold that Kings or other Rulers on whom the Government and welfare of the Kingdom or other Republick lyeth, may be excommunicated to their publick dishonour: Because Gods moral Law which bids Honour our Father and Mother and our King, doth bind before Laws of meer Rites and order, And the most publick good is to be preferred: And the Honour of the King is necessary to his successful Government, and so the publick good and safety: Christ taught us even in cases of such nature to remember, that *God will have mercy* and not *Sacrifice*; And order is for the preservation and not for the destruction of the society ordered: Therefore though Baptism and the Lords Supper and Absolution may be denied to a King that is utterly incapable of them, yet is he not to be dishonoured by an open excommunication (which is purposely to shame offenders) much less by any of his Sub.

Subjects that never were called by him to be his Guides ;
And least of all by a foreign Usurper.

VIII. We reject their doctrine who subject Christian Princes and States to the Power of foreigners under the name of *General Councils*: As if Christ had given a power of Universal Legislation and Judgement, though not to a *Personal* yet to a *Collective body*; whose Laws all the Christian world is bound to obey: when indeed there never was, will be, or can be any true General Council of all the Churches in the world, nor did ever Christ institute such a thing. The first controversie between us and the Papists is not, *Who it is that is the Universal Governour of the Christian world (or Church) under Christ, whether Pope or Council*: But whether there be any such Universal Governour at all: which we utterly deny; were there any at all, we would sooner yield that it is the Pope (who is in being) than that it is a true General Council which never was in being: And if any called Protestants would betray King and Kingdom into Subjection to a foreign Power under the false name of a General Council, we wash our hands from such disloyalty; as knowing well by the Map of the Roman Empire, and the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, and by the names of the subscribing Bishops, and by the power of the Emperours that called them, and other notices of history, that even the four first great approved Councils were but some part of the Bishops of the Empire, (unless some borderer accidentally stepped in) and not at all of the rest of the Christian world: And if *England* were sometime subject to that Empire, yet is it not so now. The Clergy of one Prince have no power of Government over all other Princes and their Clergy.

See the second part of Baxter's Key for Catholics where it is fully proved that General Councils never were or can be or ought to be.

IX. We

IX. We reject their doctrine who teach that the King or other Rulers are bound to punish men by the sword, merely because being excommunicate they repent not and reconcile not themselves to the Clergy ; As if Princes were the Lictors or executioners of the Clergy , or were bound to burn, banish, imprison or fine their Subjects, because the Clergy (Pope, Prelates or *Presbyteries*) do excommunicate them, and require it of them ; be the sentence right or wrong : And we much desire that Princes would not so nearly annex their punishments to the Clergies censures , as may seem to countenance such injurious and dishonourable expectations of the Clergy , or as may countenance them that scorn Church discipline as a leaden sword or uneffectual , unless the sword of the Magistrates enforce it.

X. We like not the dangerous Conclusion of [*No Bishop No King*], though we judge not such a word when by a sound exposition the danger is avoided.

XI. We reject their doctrine who hold
The Papists. that the Clergy is exempt from the Government of the King, as if they were not his *Subjects*, and he might not punish them for common enemies, yea and for gross *mal-administration* and *unfaithfulness* in the Ministry, as he may punish Physicians, or Lawyers for the like in their professions.

XII. We detest their doctrine who debase
Papists. Kings and magistrates, by saying that they are Governors only of the *body* , and not of the *soul* (when it is only *souls* that are commanded by Laws, and immediately obey) , or that it is only the *civil peace* and

and *bodily prosperity* which is the end of the Government of Kings, and not mens *spiritual good* and *salvation*: And so that the King and Magistrates are to be valued as much less than the Clergy, as the concerns of the body are less valuable than the concerns of the soul: As Pope Innocent 3. said * “[God made two great Lights in the firmament of heaven and of the universal Church, that is, he instituted two dignities, which are the Pontifical authority and the Regal power; But that which ruleth the Day, that is, things spiritual, is the greatest, and that which ruleth Carnal things is the less; that it may be known that the difference between Popes and Kings, is such as is the difference between the Sun and the Moon.] No wonder therefore if in his Serm. 2. he say “[To me it is said I have set thee over Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up and destroy and scatter. I am set up as a middle person between God and man; On this side God, but beyond man, yea greater than man, who judge all, and can be judged of none: I am the Bridegroom, &c.] And if Pope Gregory 7. in his Roman Council declare, that he hath power to set up and take down Emperors, &c. Whenas in truth things spiritual and eternal are the end of the Kings Government also; though by punishing sin and ruling Ministers and others by the sword, and not by becoming a Priest himself, he seek that end.

* Vide Cosmas Hist. Transub. pag. 147, 148.

XIII. We detest their doctrine who say that not Kings, but only the Clergy are Judges in matters of faith, or Religion, or of Heresie: whenas every man is to judge where he is to Govern and execute. And as every Subject hath a *Discerning judgement* to know what is his own Duty and what is sin; and the Pastors of the Church have that publick Ecclesiastical Judgement, which is called,

led, The use of the Keys, to judge who is fit or unfit for the communion of the Church within their charge, and so who is to be Baptized, excommunicated or absolved; so also the King and Magistrates are Judges, who is by them to be punished by the sword, as abusers of sacred doctrine or worship, as Heretical seducers, or unfaithful Pastors.

XIV. Though there be some reverend persons that hold that Ministers only hold their power from Christ as Redeemer, and Magistrates not so, but only from God the Creator as ruling by common providence, and not by Christ, we greatly dissent from this conceit, and believe that God who after the fall set up a Law or Covenant of Grace to all mankind, in *Adam* and *Noah*, doth govern none on earth, either by such providence as he governeth bruits without Law; nor yet by the first Law of Innocency or perfection alone (making Innocency the condition of Life, to them that are already guilty) but all are under a Law of grace: And all persons and things are delivered to Christ, and put into his hands and power, and he is made Head over all things to the Church, even the Lord of dead and living, and the general administrator, even among them that hear not of his name: All judgement is committed to him, (*Joh. 5. 22. Eph. 1. 22, 23. Rom. 14. 9, 10, &c.*) He is the *Alpha* and *Omega*; the *Giver* and the *end* of Power. And they that say that the world hath so good a thing as Magistracy without Christs procurement, may next feign many more mercies to be given to the miserable without Christ, and so that God could pardon sin without him, and next that we be saved and come to heaven without him, and his grace.

XV. We

X V. We renounce the opinion of them that hold, that *circa sacra*, the King hath no power to command us circumstances of worship. And that if the King by his Law or Mandate impose on the several Churches, One Translation of the Scripture, one Version of the *Psalms*, one Lecture day or hour, &c. and the Bishop another, that we must obey our Diocesan, rather than the King.

X VI. We renounce their opinion who hold that the Act of Uniformity, and such other Laws as are made about Church matters, especially such as impose the 39 Articles of Religion, the Subscriptions, Declarations, Oaths and Practices, are to be esteemed by our Consciences, but as *Laws of the Church*, or *Clergy* confirmed by King and Parliament, and that the Church men are the proper expositors of them; And that out of the Tithing of the Convocation, it is the Bishops that must give us the sence which our Consciences must follow: For we believe that the *Law-makers* are the only expositors of their own Law, by an exposition commonly obligatory to the Subject, and the several Judges are the expositors for the decision of such particular causes as belong to their Courts; and that if Bishops, or Convocation should put a wrong sence on such Oaths and subscriptions, we may not take them in their sence, and that if they should expound our 39 Articles as *Franc. x. Sancta Clara* did, we may not take them in that sence, nor may they so change the Protestant Religion, by changing the sence and keeping the words, as that

Else Bishops might set up what Religion they would by an expository power, and indeed be the only Law-makers, the King and Parliament making but the words, and the Bishops the sence.

XVII. We approve not of their judgement, who (when the bonds of mutual Oaths between King and Subjects, according to the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, declareth the unchangeableness of our Monarchical Government) would have also certain *Inferior powers made as unchangeable by publick Oaths*; which powers antecedently to those Oaths the King may change, as being not (at least in their various Circumstances) settled by Christ; Thereby depriving the King of his Power, and swearing the Subjects never to endeavour any alteration of such inferior Government, not excepting [*though the King and Parliament command it*;] And so making mutable Ministers as necessary and unchangeable as the King.

XVIII. We detest the treachery of such as would divide the Interest of the King and his Kingdom further than they are unavoidably differenced by Nature; and that would perswade Kings that the *Common Good* is not the end of Government, but that it is their Interest to take down the welfare of the people, and get them as low as to liberties and wealth as they can: For the Uniting of the *Interests and Affections* of King and Kingdom, is the summ of the true Art of Governing, next to the pleasing of God.

XIX. Much more do we abhor their treachery against Kings, who would both expose them to Gods Justice, and the peoples hard thoughts, by setting them either above God or in competition with him, or building their Kingdoms in the air and not on God; we mean specially such as deny all Monarchs to be *Limited by God*,
and

and to be subject to his Laws: And were they Absolute and not limited by God, they might command all the Subjects to curse God, to renounce Christ and their Salvation, to worship the Devil, and to violate all the Laws of Nature; which would subvert their own foundation.

XX. Accordingly we reject their treachery, that would make it the peoples duty to be of the Kings Religion, be it what it will be, and so among *Turks*, and *Papists* and *Pagans*, to be *Mahometans*, *Papists* or *Hearthens*; and to obey the King against God; Nothing more dishonouring Kings than when they are set up as in Gods place or as against him.

XXI. We also renounce their treachery, who would deny the Subjects, a *judicium discretionis*, a judgment discerning duty from no duty and from sin; For so they deprive the King of his Subjects and make them no men, nor capable of obeying him: And they deprive him of their aid, in case any Usurper claim the Crown, if they must not judge, who hath the true right.

XXII. We renounce the treachery of such as represent Monarchs odious to the very nature of their Subjects, (who are ruled by interest), by terrible descriptions of their Power, as *absolute*; and as such as may when they please seize on all mens estates, destroy the Innocent, Commission their servants to kill Parliaments, burn Cities, sell all as slaves to others, and the instruments may not be resisted: when it is known that terrible descriptions breed such fears as tend to hatred; And hatred is virtual rebellion: And when all people see that their lives, liberties and estates have no security but the will of one mutable man, it maketh them like men among

enemies, in continual suspicion; when *Love* and *Trust* are the chief affections of true *Subjects* to which *fear* must be but subservient. How can treacherous men more undermine a Prince, than by such terrible descriptions, and by perswading him to rule by *Fear* rather than *Love*; to render him hated by his Subjects that should love him, and defend him?

XXIII. We take it for a traiterous opinion that, *It is not lawful to take Arms against any that have a Commission with the Kings Name under his Great or Little Seal, without exception*: For then the keepers of his Majesties Seals may depose the King, by Sealing Commissions as in his name, to traytours, to seize on his guards, forts, navies, Magazines, treasures, servants, &c. and no loyal subjects might resist them, no not they who by Law or former Commission were obliged to it.

XXIV. We renounce their treachery who would weaken the Kings Interest by dividing his Subjects, and building up unnecessary walls of partition between them, to keep them in such divisions, and would thereby cherish hatred, contention and mutinies among them, seeing, a Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand: And it is unsafe and uncomfortable to a Prince to rule a divided mutinous people, and sweet and safe to rule them that are united in mutual Love: Therefore we detest their way that would lay the peoples Concord upon incapable terms, and bring the Kings interest in his peoples Love and willing obedience and ready defence of him, into too narrow a bottom, making him the King of some causelessly divided and espoused party which must be set up to the oppression of all the rest, who are as wise and just and loyal as they.

XXV. It

XXV. It is treachery against Princes to tell them that they are not bound by their Oaths, Vows, and Promises ; that thereby their Subjects may be brought into utter distrustfulness of them. And how can there be due obedience and adhering to Rulers where there is no Trust ?

XXVI. They are great enemies to Princes who tempt them to notorious viciousness of life, against God's Laws : seeing all that believe a God will honour him, and his Laws and interest, and will judge of men as they keep or break them ; and will think worse of the evil than the good : And God hath said, Those that honour me I will honour, &c. And even Princes must condemn a vile person, and honour those that fear the Lord, *Psal. 15*. Even among Heathens, how great was the peoples Love and Honour to an *Antonine* (even to deifie him) to a *Titus*, a *Trajan*, an *Alexander Severus*, &c. and what excellent names have they left behind them ! And how contrary was it with a *Nero*, a *Caligula*, a *Commodus*, a *Heliogabalus*, &c. He is the great enemy of Princes that would render them bad, most unlike to God, and the examples of iniquity, and enemies of the good.

XXVII. We detest their opinion who think that a strong and prosperous Usurper may be defended against the King, or that the King is not to be defended against him, to the hazard of our estates and lives.

XXVIII. We renounce their opinion who think that it is Lawful for the Kings Subjects meerly to propagate Religion or Reformation in the Kingdom, by entering into Leagues, Covenants and Arms against him (of which before) and without his consent and Laws.

XXIX. We

XXIX. We disown their opinion that think that though the inferior Subjects may not do this, yet the Inferior Magistrates may ; and have power to question and judge the King ; (*of which also before.*)

XXX. We reject them that say, that *The Person of the King is not inviolable ; which no Subjects may assault or invade* , much less take away his life.

XXXI. We detest the doctrine of those Popish Doctors (at large cited in terms by *Henry Fowlis* and the Bishop of *Lincoln*) who teach that when the Pope hath excommunicated and deposed a King, he is no King, and may be killed, at least by the Popes command, and that to kill him is not to kill a King : And we detest such Treasons as were executed on *Henry 3.* and *H. 4. of France*, and on our late King.

XXXII. We detest that opinion, that none are bound to the King, nor bound to forbear treason or to discover it, unless they have taken some Oath of fidelity to him or made some promise ; As if a Papist or any other that cometh from beyond Sea and hath avoided such Oaths and promises might lawfully do that which else were treason : As if our Ancestors Covenants, and our living under the Laws and protection of a Sovereign did not oblige us.

XXXIII. We disclaim the treacherous opinion of such as would have Kings build their titles on no better ground than an Usurper may plead , that so it may fall by the sandiness of that foundation ; that is, either on *meer Conquest*, (and then a stronger may conquer them)

or

or on pretence of their *special fitness, by wisdom and Goodness* (and so if any were *wiser or better*, he would have more right), or as *Mahomet* on pretended revelation from heaven (as aforesaid.)

XXXIV. We renounce their opinion who hold that they may break their Oaths of Allegiance ; or that the Pope or any other can dispense with such Oaths, according to the aforesaid *Laterane* General Council.

XXXV. We disown their disloyalty, who would have such Oaths put upon Subjects, whose matter is contrary to the common judgement of Philosophers Hea-then and Christian, and Politicians, and Lawyers, and Historians, and Divines of all sides, of the Christian Religion ; that so they may ingage the *Common judgment of mankind* against their Princes, under pretence of exalting them to more power than all or any of these parties do allow of.

XXXVI. We are the more unwilling our selves to make Vows and Oaths rashly, or to renounce any lawful part of such as were (though unlawfully) made ; and that Ministers of Christ should really or seemingly be branded with the mark of P E R J U R Y, or that any Cities or Corporations or Kingdoms in the world should be so branded, lest it should weaken and loosen the publick bonds of Oaths with the Subjects, by which the lives of Princes are secured from Treasons and Conspiracies ; And we think that when Oaths are despised and made as a sport, it is an act of treachery against Princes lives : Besides that the Guilty may expect Gods judgments ; And if Perjury be revenged with Plagues, and flames and poverty, and a famine of the word, especial-
ly

ly restrained from the guiltiest places, it is no wonder; at least, till they as openly REPENT, as they have sinned.

XXXVII. In General (because all particulars cannot be remembred) we renounce all Principles and Practices of disloyalty, sedition, faction, Schism, treasons, Conspiracies and rebellion, against Kings or any rightful Governours.

WE have thus faithfully given the world an account of our judgements, of the Power of Kings, the obedience of Subjects, and the mischiefs of disloyalty and rebellion: If we live in such a *time* and *place* where all this is not enough to excuse us from being suspected of *poysoning men with seditious and rebellious doctrines*; Yea if this very profession, extorted from us by many published accusations and reproaches, after so many years sufferings and silence, shall be made the matter of our farther accusation, reproach or suffering, we appeal to the final judgement of the most righteous God which we are near; and leave this for the information of posterity and foreigners when we are dead. We know no man that can write so as that no word might not be wiselier or better said, or with which malice cannot pick a quarrel. If this be yet our lot, we must bear it.

We add this caution, That though *ex superabundanti* we that concur in the foregoing Profession, do to stop the mouth of calumnie, mention our consent to all that General Councils, the Confessions of the Churches, the writings of Philosophers, Politicians, Lawyers and Divines do say for the Power of Kings and the obedience of subjects, we do think it unreasonable and dangerous, that such redundancies should be commonly imposed on others, as a test of their fidelity.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

The Conformity of our Doctrine of obedience to the Constitution of this Kingdom, the Doctrine and Canons of the Church, and the judgement of the most Learned and Loyal Prelates.

§. 1. **I**F I own that political doctrine which is justified by these three I. The constitution of this Monarchy, II. The Articles of Religion and Canons of the Church, III. And the judgement of those Prelates who have been accounted the most Loyal and Learned of their order, and the most hot and strong defenders of it, I suppose such doctrine will be vindicated from the charge of Nonconformity.

§. 2. But I find that the first is a point not agreed on by all, *viz.* what the constitution of the Kingdom is; while Parliaments have claimed that as their Power and privilege which the King hath denied to be theirs; and the King hath claimed that as his power and prerogative which Parliaments have denied to be such. Therefore I (that am very unfit to judge between them) must take up with that which is on both hands agreed on. And that I will take only as in the Kings own words, in his answers to the Parliament 1641 in several of his Declarations.

§. 3. In his Majesties answer to the 19. Propositions he thus describeth the Constitution *in general*, *abom.*
 “There being three kinds of Government amongst men, *Abſolute Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy;* and
 M “all

"all these having their particular conveniencies, and in-
 "conveniencies; the experience and wisdom of your an-
 "cestors hath so molded this out of a Mixture of these,
 "as to give to this Kingdom (as far as humane prudence
 "can provide) the conveniencies of all three without the in-
 "conveniencies of any one, as long as the ballance hangs
 "even between the three Estates, and they run joyntly on in
 "their proper Channel (begetting Verdure and fertility in
 "the meadows on both sides) and the overflowing of
 "either on either side raise no deluge or inundation. The
 "ill of Absolute Monarchy is Tyranny: The ill of Aristo-
 "cracy is faction and division: The ill of Democracy are
 "tumults, violence and licentiousness. The good of
 "Monarchy is the Uniting of a Nation under one head to
 "resist invasion from abroad, and insurrection at home:
 "The good of Aristocracy is the conjunction of Council
 "of the ablest persons of a State for the publick benefit.
 "The good of Democracy is Liberty, and the Courage and
 "Indultry which Liberty begets.

"In this Kingdom the Laws are joyntly made by a
 "King, by a house of Peers, and by a house of Commons
 "chosen by the people, all having free Votes and parti-
 "cular privileges: The Government according to these
 "Laws is trusted to the King; power of Treaties of war
 "and peace, of making Peers, of choosing Officers and
 "Counsellors for State, Judges for Law, Commanders
 "for Forts and Castles, giving Commissions for raising men
 "to make war abroad, or to prevent or provide against
 "invasions or insurrections at home, benefit of confiscati-
 "ons, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kind,
 "are placed in the King: And this kind of regulated Mo-
 "narchy, having this power to preserve that authority,
 "without which it would be disabled to preserve the Laws
 "in their force, and the Subjects in their Liberties and
 "proprieties,

“ proprieties, is intended to draw to him such a respect
 “ and relation from the great ones, as may hinder the ill
 “ of division and faction, and such a fear and reverence
 “ from the people as may hinder tumults, violence and
 “ licentiousness.

“ Again, that the Prince may not make use of this high
 “ and perpetual Power to the hurt of those for WHOSE
 “ GOOD HE HATH IT, and make use of the
 “ name of Publick necessity for the gain of his Private favo-
 “ rites and followers to the detriment of his people, the
 “ house of Commons (an excellent conserver of Liberty,
 “ but never intended for any share in Government, or the
 “ choosing of them that should govern) is solely intrust-
 “ ed with the first Propositions concerning the Levies of
 “ moneys (which is the sinews as well of peace as war)
 “ and the impeaching of those, who for their own ends
 “ though countenanced by any SURREPTITIOUS-
 “ LY GOTTEN COMMAND of the KING, have
 “ violated the Law which HE IS BOUND (when he
 “ knows it) to protect, and to the protection of which they
 “ were bound to advise him; at least not to serve him in the
 “ contrary.

“ And the Lords being trusted with a Judicatory pow-
 “ er are an excellent Screen and bank between the Prince
 “ and people, to assist each against any incroachments
 “ of the other, and by just judgments to preserve that
 “ Law, which ought to be the Rule of every one of the
 “ three.

“ For the better enabling them in this, beyond the
 “ examples of any of our ancestors, we were willingly
 “ contented to oblige our self, both to call a Parliament
 “ every three years, and not to dissolve it in fifty daies. }

“ We told you in our first Declaration printed by the
 “ advice of our Privy Council, that for differences among

" our selves for matters indifferent in their own nature
 " concerning religion; we should in tenderness to any
 " number of our loving Subjects, very willingly comply
 " with the advice of our Parliament, that some Law
 " might be made for the exemption of tender Consciences
 " from punishment or prosecution for such ceremonies, and
 " in such cases which by the judgment of most men are
 " held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely
 " unlawfull. Provided that this case shall be
 " attempted and pursued with that modesty, temper and
 " submission, that in the mean time, the peace and quiet
 " of the Kingdom be not disturbed, the decency and comeliness
 " of Gods service discountenanced, nor the pious,
 " sober, devout actions of those reverend persons who were
 " the first Labourers in the blessed reformation of that time,
 " be scandalized and defamed]. And because his Majesty
 " observeth great and different troubles to arise in the
 " hearts of his people concerning the Government and
 " Liturgy of the Church, His Majesty is willing to declare
 " that he will refer the whole consideration to the
 " wisdom of his Parliament.] See the rest in the Declaration.

§. 4. In his Declaration of Jun. 3. 1642. " [For
 " the Law, it being the Common inheritance of our people,
 " we shall never enforce any prerogative of ours beyond
 " it; but submit our selves to it; and give you and all
 " our Subjects the fullest latitude of it, both for the liberty
 " of your persons, and the propriety of your estates. And for
 " an inviolable confidence and assurance hereof, as we take
 " God the searcher of all hearts to witness our real intention
 " herein, so we shall no longer desire you to stand for
 " the defence of our person, honour, and just prerogatives,
 " than we shall maintain the Laws of the land, the liberty
 " of your persons, and the propriety of your goods. "

§. 5. In

§. 5. In his Declaration of *Jun. 13. 1642.* to the Lords
 “ [We do declare that we will not require nor expect
 “ any obedience from you, but what shall be warranted
 “ by the known Laws of the land : as we do expect
 “ that you shall not yield to any commands, NOT
 “ LEGALLY GROUNDED, or imposed by any
 “ other. We will defend the true Protestant Religion e-
 “ stablished by the Law of the Land ; the lawful liberties
 “ of the Subjects of *England*, and just priviledges of all
 “ the three Estates of Parliament ; and shall require no
 “ further obedience from you than as accordingly we shall
 “ perform the same.

§. 6. *Aug. 12. 1642.* Declaration “ [The High Com-
 “ mission Court had proceeded with too much strictness
 “ in many cases ; where the tender Consciences of ma-
 “ ny of our weak Subjects were concerned ; and had so
 “ far outgrown the power of the Law, that it would not
 “ be limited and guided by it, but censured, fined and impris-
 “ oned our people, for matters not punishable by the Law.

§. 7. In this great and full Declaration *Aug. 12. 1642.*
 “ [What our opinion and resolution is concerning Parlia-
 “ ments, we have fully expressed in our Declarations :
 “ We have said and will still say, They are so ESSEN-
 “ TIAL APART OF THE CONSTITUTI-
 “ ON of this Kingdom, that we can attain to no happiness
 “ without them, nor will we ever make the least attempt
 “ (in our own thought) against them. We well know that
 “ OUR SELF and our two Houses make up the Par-
 “ liament, and that we are like *Hippocrates* Twins, we
 “ must laugh and cry, live and die together ; That no man
 “ can be a friend to one and an enemy to the other].

§. 8. The Kings Protestation *Sept. 19. 1642.* be-
 “ tween *Stafford* and *Wellington*. “ [I do promise in the pre-
 “ sence of Almighty God, and as *Phoebe* for his blessing and
 “ prote-

“ protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion established in the Church of *England*, and by the grace of God in the same will live and die.

“ I desire to Govern by the known Laws of the land, and that the Liberty and Property of the Subject may be by them preserved, with the same care as my own just rights: And if it please God by his blessing upon this Army raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God to maintain the just priviledges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the land to my utmost power; and particularly to observe inviolably the Laws consented to by me this Parliament.]

§. 9. How far our present King hath declared himself for the same principles, it is needless to recite, while his frequent Professions of them, and his Declarations for just Liberty of Conscience, and his Gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, and his professed resolution to draw the Bishops to meet us and make necessary abatements for concord, &c. are in our remembrance or before our eyes.

And we disclaim their censures, who say All this was done but for a time to draw us into what hath followed: And when others say, It was by a ——— Parliament that it was frustrated, and that all was long of the Bishops and Clergy whose Reverence prevailed with them to do all against us which they did, though we cannot confute them, we leave all to the approaching judgment of the all-knowing God.

§. 10. II. The Article of Religion for the power of Kings and obedience of Subjects we need not transcribe,
but

but do consent to it: so do we to the Canons which require the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacie, and answerable obedience, and to all the Homilies against Rebellion and for obedience, and all that ever we found to be for this the publick doctrine of the Church.

§. 11. III. The judgment of Bishop Jewel, Bishop Bilson, Mr. Richard Hooker I have elsewhere cited, and confuted some of Mr. Hookers mistakes, who putteth the peoples power to give Authority, instead of their power to choose the family or person that shall receive it immediately from the Law of God.

The words of Barclay and Grosius the two most eminent defenders of Monarchy (as I said before) I will not recite in their words (how far and when Kings may be resisted, specially by those that have part in the Legislative power which is part in the Supremacy) lest I be mistaken as approving all that they say: It may be seen at large in *Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis* li. 1. c. 4. pag. 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91. And *de Imperio sum. Potest.* cap. 5. pag. 7, 8. much less will I cite the common writers of Politicks, who are more for popular power a great deal than I am (of which after).

§. 12. At this time I will take up with the words of Bishop Jer. Taylor, in his notable *Ductor Dubitantium* about both Civil and Church Power, because he is a very ingenious writer, and of great authority even with those of the Clergy who follow Archbishop Land, whom *Abbots* followers accused.

§. 13. *Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 170. Ruf. 1.* "That in every
"Commonwealth there is a supream power, is without all
"question — It matters not whether this supream pow-
"er be subjected in one or many, that's as to the Good-
"ness or badness — not the absoluteness of it. — He that
"hath the supream power is only under God — sup-
"pose a King that hath Power of the *Militia*, and his
Se-

“Senate of making Laws, and his people by their Com-
 “mittees of raising money, This power of making war,
 “and Laws and Levies is the supream Power, and is that
 “which can do all things : And though one be account-
 “table for monies, and the other subject to Laws, and two
 “of them under the power of the Sword, yet this is but the
 “Majesty or supremacy parted; and whether well or ill I
 “dispute not, but when it is parted and when it is united,
 “it is all. —

“P. 133. But then it must be considered that the abso-
 “lute power of the Prince, is but an absolute power of
 “Government, not of Possession. It is a power of do-
 “ing right; but not a power of doing wrong; And at
 “the worst, it is but the power of doing private violences
 “for the security of the publick. He is *Princeps Regni*;
 “but not *Dominus*; a *Prince*, not a Lord; and the di-
 “stinction is very material. For to be Lord signifieth more
 “than the supream power of Government; It means an Ab-
 “solute power to dispose of all lives and all possessions;
 “which is beyond the power of the King or Prince. He that
 “is a King, rules over a free people, but a Lord rules over
 “Slaves. *Tacitus*, according to the popular humour of
 “the Romans, supposed the power of a King to be too
 “great a Violation of Liberty: but Domination was in-
 “tolerable — The supream power of Government is
 “at no hand a supream power or an arbitrary disposer of
 “life and fortunes; but according to Law, or according to
 “extream necessity which is the greatest Law of all. In
 “the sense of Honour and moderate power the King
 “is a Lord: but not in this sense of Law: By a Lord is
 “meant He that hath power to dispose of the goods of the
 “Vassals, but that a King or Prince hath not. This is not
 “the supream power of Government: A King is not the
 “Lord of his Kingdom; of the Territories of his Subjects. —

" P. 134. The supreme Power must defend every mans
 " right, but must usurp no mans — A King is to Go-
 " vern all things ; but to possess nothing but what is his
 " own. Only of the necessity, if the question be Who
 " shall be judge ; it is certain that it ought to be so noto-
 " rious that every man might judge — if ever there
 " be a dispute who shall be judge of the necessity, it is
 " certain the necessity is not extreme. — p. 137. The
 " plenitude of power of all things ought the least to be
 " feared, because it never is to be used but for the great-
 " est good — p. 142. All that he hath been pleased to pro-
 " mise, the forms and Laws of Government, and to what-
 " soever himself hath consented, by all those Laws he
 " is bound — when he hath bound himself, there
 " is the same necessity upon him as on his Subjects. —

" P. 144. The custome of supreme Princes swearing to
 " govern by Laws was very ancient — And indeed abstract-
 " ing from the Oath and promise, Kings are bound by
 " natural justice and equity to do so : For they are not
 " Kings unless they govern ; and they cannot expect obe-
 " dience unless they tell the measures by which they will
 " be obeyed ; and these measures cannot be any thing but
 " Laws ; — Now this is the natural way of all good
 " government. There is no other : And to govern other-
 " wise is as unnatural as to give children meat at their
 " ears, and hold looking-glasses at their elbows that they
 " may see their faces. If Kings be not bound to govern
 " their people by their Laws, why are they made ?
 " by what else can they be governed ? By the will of the
 " Prince ? — The Laws are so : Only he hath declared his
 " will and made it regular and certain, and such as wise
 " men can walk by, that the Prince may not Govern as
 " fools Govern.]

Of Church Government and Ceremonies and Subscriptions, the same Author, ibid.

“ §. 14. *Lib. 3. c. 4. p. 217.* [The use of the Keys differeth from proper jurisdiction in this great thing, that if the Keys be rightly used, they do bind or loose respectively; but if they err they do nothing on the subject; they neither bind nor loose. In proper jurisdiction it is otherwise: for right or wrong if a man be condemned he shall die for it; and if he be hanged he is hanged: But the Church gives nothing but the sentence of God, and tells upon what terms God will or will not pardon. If the Priest minister rightly, and judge according to the will and Laws of God, the subject shall find that sentence made good in heaven by the real events of the other world: — But if the priest be deceived, he is deceived for himself and no body else — He alters nothing of the state of the Soul by his quick absolution or unreasonable binding. The power of remitting sins given to the Church is nothing but an authority to minister that pardon which God gives by Jesus Christ — Ecclesiastical authority is a power of Jurisdiction, just as Excommunication is a Sword. But so is the word of God sharper than a two-edged sword, and so is a severe reproof — But how little there is of proper jurisdiction in excommunication we can demonstrate but by too good an argument (*citing many instances of its uneffectualness*) — Only the obstinate and incorrigible are to be proceeded against by that extreme remedy: And to them who need that extreme it is no remedy: for they that need it care not for it, and what compulsion then can

" can this be?—It must work only by opinion, and can af-
 " fright them only who are taught to be afraid of it. It can
 " only do effort on them who are willing to be good in the
 " way of the Church; for it is a spiritual punishment, and
 " operates only on the spirit, that is, on the will and under-
 " standing which can have no coercion ———] That
 " which Ecclesiasticks can do, is a suspension of their own
 " act; not any power over the actions of other men:
 " and therefore is but an use of their own liberty, not an
 " exercise of jurisdiction. He doth the same thing in Sa-
 " craments which he doth in preaching: In both he de-
 " clares the guilty person to be out of the way to hea-
 " ven, to be obnoxious to the Divine anger, to be a
 " debtor of repentance; and refusing to baptize an ill
 " Catechumen, or to Communicate an ill living Christi-
 " an, does but say the same thing. He speaks in one by
 " signs, and in the other he signifies by words. ———
 " The other effects are the caution and duty of the
 " Church to abstain from the society of the Criminal.

" §. 15. Rule 2. p. 220. &c. The Church hath power
 " to make Laws &c. By the Church I must first mean the
 " Church Catholick, or all the Governours of the Christi-
 " an assemblies in the world ——— But because all did
 " never meet since the Apostles days, who being few and
 " united and absolute and supreme could then do what ne-
 " ver could be done since, it is necessary that the Legislation
 " be subjected in some more particular subject, and there-
 " fore I shall instance in the least. By the Church I mean eve-
 " ry particular Church joyned to the Head of Union;
 " and by the particular Church I mean the Angel of that
 " Church the Bp. — A Diocess is the least circuit of Go-
 " vernment, but it is an intire body subject to distinct com-
 " mands — whether the Diocess be little or great, allowed
 " or disallowed, in City or Countrey, divided into Parishes
 " or not divided, under Metropolitans or not under, of ma-

“ny Churches or but of one, it matters not: where there
 “is a Bishop and a Congregation, there is a Diocese
 “—— As for Parishes in the late sense of the word,
 “that is, the charge of a single Presbyter, it is no bo-
 “dy politick of Apostolical or Divine appointment. For
 “the Presbyters were called *in part m sollicitudinis* into
 “the help of the Ministry, but they had NO CURE
 “O F S O U L S save only by delegation and special
 “temporary appointment for some whole ages in the

* 1. Note that elsewhere
 he saith, A man cannot be
 answerable for the souls
 that he cannot know. 2.
 Note that he maketh a
 Bishop essential to a
 Church (in the proper
 political sense) And so our
 Parishes are all unechurch-
 ed by the Bishops way.
 3. One Congregation with
 a Bishop is a Diocessane
 Church. 4. Parish Curats
 have no Government. 5.
 All this fully proveth that
 Diocesses in those ages
 that he speaks of were
 no bigger than one man
 could govern, that is, than
 our Parishes. 6. Quer.
 By what right were the
 changes in *specie* made.

“only is properly such —— A Bishop and his charge
 “more or less is an intire society or Common-wealth, that
 “is, an intire Government, and Pre-
 “late and people make the parts
 “of the integral constitution *.

* This with Dr. Hammonds
 denying that there were
 any subject Presbyters in
 Scripture times, make up
 pure Independency.

(What Laws he meaneth see him
 after.)

“§. 16. But this (Commanding power) is not to be ex-
 “tended

"tended to such Decencies as are only Ornament, but
 "is to be limited to such as only rescue from Confusion :
 "The reason is, because the Prelates and spiritual Guides
 "cannot do their duty, unless things be so orderly that
 "there be no confusion, much less can they do it with
 "joy : and so far their power does extend. — But
 "if it can go beyond this limit, then it can have
 "no natural limit ; but may extend to sumptuousness,
 "to Ornaments of Churches, to rich utensils to splendour,
 "to Majesty — But because this is too subject to abuse,
 "and gives a secular power into the hands of Bishops,
 "and an authority over men's fortunes and estates,
 "and is not necessary for souls, and no part of the spiritual government,
 "it is more than Christ gave to his Ministers.

"§. 17. This is to be added, that because this power is such — it is only left to the people to do it or not,
 "under the pain of sin ; but they are not to incur spiritual censures upon the stock of non-compliance
 "in things not simply necessary or of essential duty.

Nonconformity.

"§. 18. P. 233. Beyond this, the Bishops can directly give no Laws that properly and immediately bind the transgressors under sin : my Reasons are, 1. Because we never find the Apostles using their Coercion on any man but the express breakers of a Divine commandment, or the publick disturbers of the peace of the Church, and the established necessary order. 2. Because even in those things which were so convenient that they had a power to make injunctions, yet the Apostles were very backward to use their authority of commanding, much less severity, but intreating. 3. In things where God had interposed no command, though the rule they gave contained in it that which
 "was

“ was fit and decent, yet if men would resist, they gently
 “ admonish or reprove them, and let them alone. 4. If the
 “ Bishops power were extended further, it might extend to
 “ Tyranny, and there could be no limits beyond this pre-
 “ scribed to keep him within the measures of sweetness of
 “ the Government Evangelical—yet the power of spiritual
 “ Rulers may extend further by fame, consent, reputati-
 “ on, opinion of his wisdom, voluntary submission, avoiding
 “ scandal.

“ §. 19. P. 258. [It is certainly unlawful to excom-
 “ municate any man for not paying the fees of Courts :
 “ For contumacy there is an offence against the Civil
 “ power, and he hath a sword of his own to avenge
 “ that. But excommunication is a sword to avenge the
 “ contumacy of them who stubbornly offend against the
 “ discipline of the Church in that wherein Christ hath
 “ given her authority ; and that is in the matters of Sal-
 “ vation and damnation immediate ; in such things where
 “ there is no secular interest ; where there can be no dis-
 “ pute ; where the offender doth not sin by consequence
 “ and interpretation, but directly and without excuse.

“ §. 20. I add one thing of great use and confi-
 “ deration, and that is, That when a Law is made that
 “ whoever shall commit such a fact shall be *ipso facto*
 “ excommunicate, it must never be understood of the
 “ Greater and proper excommunication : for if it be, it
 “ is unlawful, and it is ridiculous : for the abscission
 “ from the Church is not to be used but after all other
 “ remedies ; when the Crime is delated and notorious, and
 “ when he hath been admonished and reprove and cal-
 “ led to repentance, if after all he refuseth and rebels,
 “ then he is to be cut off, else not : And therefore no
 “ man is cut off *ipso facto*— If it be enquired whether all
 “ such sentences in Law which declare a man in certain
 cases

"cases *ipso facto* excommunicate, be unlawful, the
 "Arch-Bishop of *Spalato* (*Lib. 5.*
 "*de Rep. Eccles. c. 9. n. 23, 24.*)
 "who is fierce against them, answers
 "affirmatively and confidently,
 "and disputes well against them.

"§. 20. *Pag. 262.* The Church
 "intends not to forbid any such
 "entercourse or Communion to
 "which we stand preobliged by
 "the Law of Nature or any
 "Law of God ——— Even
 "the King cannot command a wife
 "not to pay her duty to her husband,
 "nor a child to his mother : To these
 "they are bound by God though
 "they die for it. (*) When (an
 "action of) piety is necessary, and
 "not under choice and Counsel,
 "but under a commandment, the
 "King and the Bishop singly or
 "conjunctly have no power to for-
 "bid it. *p. 264.* In this there is no
 "other Rule of Conscience, but that we first attend to
 "the Laws of God concerning our other duties, and then
 "to the Laws of the King in this.

"§. 21. *p. 275.* The *Lent* fast is not a Tradition or
 "Canon Apostolical, proved at large and unanswerably, to
 "*pag. 285.* and again after.

"§. 22. *P. 285.* The Authority of a General Council in
 "matters of Government and Discipline, is no greater,
 "no more obligatory, than the authority of a provin-
 "cial Council to those that are under it. ——— It is
 an

Honest Dr. you made
 not our Canons which
ipso facto excommunicate
 the professed *Nonconfor-*
mists : Yet I will venture
 to give one exception :
viz. He that openly and
 deliberately renounceth
 God or Christ or any
 essential part of his Bap-
 tismal Covenant, or Chri-
 stianity, thereby *ipso facto*
 cuts off himself : And
 therefore the Law may
 justly say that he is *ipso*
facto excommunicate, and
 declare him so. Doubt-
 less our Canon meaneth
 the proper excommuni-
 cation, when it addeth, let
 him not be restored but
 by the Archbishop, and
 till he publicly repent &
 renounce this wicked er-
 ror.

* So a Minister to his
 office.

“ an Union of Government ; a consent of Princes and
 “ Bishops ——— the consent of opinions adds moment
 “ to the Laws ; Those Princes which are there, and Bi-
 “ shops which consent are bound by their own act, —
 “ till reason alters ——— but the Prince can as much
 “ alter that Law when the case alters ——— as he can
 “ abrogate any other. But those Princes who were not
 “ there, whatever the cause of their absence be, are
 “ not obliged by that General Council ; and that Coun-
 “ cil can have no authority but what is given them by
 “ consent ; And therefore they who have not consented
 “ are free as ever.

“ I mention this that those religious and well meaning
 “ persons who are concluded by the Canon of an ancient
 “ Council, and think that whatever was there command-
 “ ed it layeth some obligation on the Consciences of us
 “ at this day, and by this means enter into infinite scrup-
 “ ples, and a restless unsatisfied condition, may consi-
 “ der that the ancient Doctors of the Church had no jurif-
 “ diction over us who were born so many ages after
 “ them ——— Interests and manners are infinitely al-
 “ tered since that time ——— Their authority could
 “ not be longer than their lives ; It's certainly not grea-
 “ ter than that of Kings, which must die with their per-
 “ sons, that their successors may be Kings as well as
 “ they and not subjects of the dead ——— If the thing
 “ be good we may use it ——— and we may choose
 “ ——— That the fathers met at *Liодice*, *Antioch*,
 “ *Nice*, &c. 1000, 1100 or 1300 years ago, should
 “ have authority over us in *England* so many ages after,
 “ is so infinitely unreasonable, that none but the *fearful*
 “ and *unbelievers*, the scrupulous and those which are
 “ *δύλοι τῇ φόβῃ* of a slavish nature, and are in bondage by
 “ their fear, and know not how to stand in that liberty
 by

“by which Christ hath made them free, will account themselves in subjection to them. The Canon for being in the old Codes of the Church, binds us no more than the Laws of *Constantine*.

“§. 23. P. 290. [An Ecclesiastical custome must be reasonable or useful, or it cannot oblige the Conscience, except to avoid scandal (for that is in all things carefully to be observed, right or wrong, so it be not sin) for no man is bound to be a fool, or to do a foolish action. Now a Custome in the Canon Law is concluded to be reasonable, if it tend to the good of the soul.

“§. 24. P. 301. &c. [Ecclesiastical Laws must be imposed so as to leave our liberty unharmed; that is, that the Law be not Universal; not with an intent to oblige all Christendom; except they will be obliged, that is, consent.——The Catholick Church never met since the Apostles days in any Assembly to make a Law that shall bind all Christians whether they consent or no: And because one Church hath not by any word of Christ's, authority over another Church, and one King is not superior to another King——therefore no Ecclesiastical Law can be made with a power of passing necessary obligation on all Christians:——When Christ had made us free from the Law of ceremonies which God appointed——it would be intolerable that the Churches should submit themselves to a Yoke of ordinances, which men should make.——

“§. 25. P. 303. [Ecclesiastical Laws are made relative to time and place, to persons and occasions, subject to all changes, fitted for use and the advantage of the Churches, ministering to edification, and complying with Charity: Whatsoever Ecclesiastical Law hath not these

" these conditions, the Churches ought not to receive,
 " because they are impediments, not advantages to the
 " service of God: If they be thus qualified, no good man will
 " refuse them: If they be not, they are the Laws of Tyrants,
 " not of spiritual Fathers. ——— 1. Whatever had its
 " foundation in the opinion of men, and not somewhat
 " certainly derived from God, if brought into Religion,
 " &c. 2. If what is deduced only by probable interpre-
 " tation be obtruded as matter of faith, 3. If what is
 " piously counselled be turned into a perpetual and abso-
 " lute Law, 4. If that which was left to the choice and
 " conduct of the Governors, be handled not as matter of
 " Liberty, but of necessity; in all these cases the command-
 " ments of men are taught for doctrines. *P. 305.* Under
 " this they are involved who persecute for opinions and
 " doubtful disputations. And They are guilty of the 4th.
 " kind who persecute the breakers of an Ecclesiastical
 " Law with a severity greater than the Violators of a
 " Divine Commandment. ——— For they that do such
 " things must needs at least say that such humane injun-
 " ctions are as necessary as the Divine commandments:
 " for else why are they more severely punished? Not
 " only they that expressly teach that what they have
 " invented is a commandment of God ——— but all they
 " that ——— press indifferent things up to the height
 " and necessity of Religion and a Divine commandment,
 " are guilty of this Phariseisme, — and bind themselves
 " but not the Consciences of their subjects ——— An Ec-
 " clesiastical Law which doth in any degree break this Law
 " of our Saviour (Teaching for doctrines the commands
 " of men) is therefore void and become intolerable —
 " As the Roman Law of keeping *Lent* ——— *Bellarmino*
 " prevaricateth one of the most glorious propositions of
 Christia-

“Christianity, placing the Kingdom of God in meat
 “and drink, not in righteousness and peace and joy in
 “the Holy Ghost. ———

“If a Law were made that every man at a certain time
 “of the year use a certain discipline to mortifie his lust, it
 “were a foolish Law.

“§. 26. *p.* 310. Laws of burden are always against
 “Charity. —

“*P.* 312. If there be a just cause to omit the observa-
 “tion, the omission is not disobedience. ———

“Rule 18. *p.* 313. Ecclesiastical Laws of Ceremonies
 “and Circumstances do not bind the Conscience beyond
 “the case of contempt and scandal ——— *P.* 314.

“Nothing can be religion but that service which God
 “hath chosen of himself, &c. Ceremonies oblige no
 “longer than they minister to the end of their designa-
 “tion. *P.* 315. The Canons of the Church oblige on-
 “ly for their Reason and Religion, for Edification and for
 “Charity, when the thing is useful to others, or good in
 “it self: But the Authority it self being wholly a
 “Ministry for these purposes, is a Ministry of Religion,
 “but hath in it nothing of Empire, and therefore doth
 “not oblige for it self or by it self, but for the doing good
 “and avoiding evil.

“§. 27. Ecclesiastical Laws must be charitable and easie,
 “and when they are not, they oblige not. *P.* 316. When
 “the Ecclesiastical Law is indicted by the spiritual power,
 “the Civil power only consenting and establishing the
 “Canon, that Corroboration adds no other band to the Ca-
 “non, than that it be obeyed according to the intention
 “of the spiritual power; only so it becomes a Law in-
 “deed; but it is a Law only as the Church can intend a
 “Law, or desire it to be imposed; that is, what the Church
 “might reasonably perswade, and fitly enjoin, so much

“and no more, in that manner and no other, the Civil
 “power doth corroborate it ——— It must be such as
 “is fit to be perswaded: such which men can be WIL-
 “LING to, and easie under, and of which they shall have
 “no cause to complain: For the Church in these
 “things hath no Power but to exhort and perswade, and
 “therefore can enjoyn nothing, but what can be reason-
 “ably perswaded; she must not by the aid of the tempo-
 “ral power enjoyn those things which are cruel and vexa-
 “tious, and such to which no argument but FEAR

* The sum is,
 The Church govern-
 eth only Volunteers
 by consent procured
 by Reason and Love.

“can make the subject willing * ———
 “When she makes judgments, she med-
 “dles not with blood ——— and when
 “she is admitted to a Legislative, she en-
 “joyns an easie and gentle yoke, And
 “when she does not, the Subject is con-
 “cerned to avoid the temporal evil threatened by the Civil
 “power, but not to give obedience to the intolerable Law
 “of the Church as in that capacity. For unless the Law
 “of the Church be such that good men may *willing-*
 “ly obey it, it cannot be enjoined by the Church; and
 “the Church ought not to desire the Civil power to do
 “it for her. For since she hath no power to command
 “in such things where the Divine authority doth not
 “intervene, all the rest is but PERSWASION; and
 “he that hath power ONLY TO PERSWADE
 “cannot be supposed to perswade *against our wills*: and
 “therefore matters of intolerable burden are not the
 “matter of Ecclesiastical Laws, because they are certain-
 “ly *against the will* of all men, who can serve God and go
 “to heaven without them.

§. 28. Rule 20. p. 323. Ecclesiastical Laws must ever
 “promote the service of God and the good of souls, but
 “must never put a Snare or Stumbling-block to Consci-
 “ences

"ences ——— The authority which the Lord hath
 "given is for edification and not for destruction, 2 Cor.
 "10. 8. and 13. 10. And this is not only so to be under-
 "stood, that if the Church makes Laws which are not
 "for edification, she *does amiss*; but that she OBLI-
 "GETH NOT, HER LAWS ARE NULL, and
 "do not bind in Conscience ——— When the Church
 "does any thing beyond her Commission, she does no way
 "oblige in Conscience, neither actively nor passively—
 "All this is greatly to be observed in all cases of Consci-
 "ence about Ecclesiastical Laws. If we can understand
 "where the spiritual power can command, and where she
 "can exhort and ought to prevail, we have found out all
 "the measures of our obedience: But if she goes beyond
 "her Commission, she hurts none but her self: for she
 "hath nothing to do with our bodies, and our souls are
 "in safe hands. And the case is much alike if the spiri-
 "tual Law be bound by the *Civil power*: For the King
 "when he makes Laws of Religion, is tyed up to the E-
 "vangelical measures; and if he prevaritates, he does
 "indeed tye us to a passive obedience, but the Conscience
 "is no otherwise bound: and he is to govern Christs
 "Church by the same measures with which the Apostles
 "did, and the Bishops their successors did and ought to
 "do before the Civil power was Christian: For he hath
 "no more power over Consciences than *they had*, and
 "ought not by the afflictions of the body to invade the
 "soul. But if he does, *ἔχει δυνάμειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξουσίαν*, he hath
 "only power over bodies, but no authority over the
 "Conscience.]

§. 29. P. 325. I instance in the institution of *signi-*
 "*ficant Ceremonies*, that is, such which are not matters
 "of order and decency, but merely for signification and
 "the representment of some truth or mystery——

" (as

“(as pictures in the Greek and Lutheran Churches) —
 “Because these can and do often degenerate into abuse
 “and invade religion, to make a Law of these is
 “not safe; and when that Law does prevail to any evil
 “that is not easily by other means cured, it does not pre-
 “vail upon the Conscience. And indeed to *make a Law*
 “*for the use of them, is not directly within the Commission*
 “*of the Ecclesiastical power.*]

“But there is more in it than thus. For though *signi-*
 “*ficant Ceremonies can be* for edification to the Church in
 “some degree, and in some persons, yet it's to be consid-
 “ered whether the introducing of such things doth not
 “**DESTROY THE CHURCH**, not only in
 “her Christian Liberty; but in the simplicity and puri-
 “ty and spirituality of her religion, by insensible chang-
 “ing it into a Ceremonial and external service. To the
 “Ceremonial Law of the *Jews*, nothing was to be ad-
 “ded.— And in Christianity we have less reason to add
 “any thing of Ceremony, except the circumstances and
 “advantages of the very Ministry, as time and place, and
 “Vessels and Ornaments and necessary appendages. When
 “we speak of Rituals or Ceremonies, that is, exterior
 “actions or things besides the institutions and commands
 “of Christ, either we intend them as part of the Divine
 “service, and then they are unlawful and intolerable;
 “or if only for *signification*, that is so little a thing, and
 “of so inconsiderable use in the fulness and clarity of
 “the revelation Evangelical, that besides that it keeps
 “Christians still in the state of infancies and minority,
 “—— it ought not to stand against any danger or
 “offence that can by them be brought to **ANY WISE**
 “and **GOOD CHRISTIANS**.

“In some ages ——— and Churches they gave persons
 “to be baptized, milk and hony, to signifie, &c. As this
 “was

"was not usual to give Hieroglyphicks where
 "they had plain precepts ——— it was of so
 "very little use, that all Churches that I know of
 "have laid it aside ——— And indeed if the Church
 "might add things or rituals of signification, then
 "the walls might be covered with the figures of Doves,
 "Lambs, Serpents, Birds, and the Communion Table
 "with Bread, Wine, Herbs, Tapers, Pigeons, Hony,
 "milk or whatever the wit of man ——— might
 "invent.

"To prepare the figure of the Crucifix and to buy an
 "Image to describe the Sacrifice of the Cross ———
 "are things to no purpose, not only for the levity and
 "theatrical gaieties and representments unbefitting the
 "gravity and purity and spirituality of the Christian religion,
 "but also the manner of teaching these truths by
 "symbolical things and actions, is too low, too suspicious,
 "too dangerous to be mingled with the Divine Liturgies
 "——— A Symbolical rite of humane invention to signify
 "what it does not effect, and then introduced
 "into the solemn worship of God, is so like those
 "vains imaginations and representments forbidden in the
 "second Commandment, that the very suspicion is more
 "against edification, than their use can pretend
 "to.

"§. 30. p. 353. Nothing can oblige to a Divine faith
 "but Divine authority, to which Councils can no more
 "pretend for being General, than for being Provincial,
 "and to which great Assemblies have no other title or pre-
 "tence of promise than the private Congregations of the
 "faithful, who though but two or three, shall be assisted by
 "the Divine presence. But General Councils are so wholly
 "of humane institution, that though by the dictate of
 "right reason and natural wisdom they are to be convened,
 yet

* yet to make them a formal Judicatory, and to give them
 “ a Legislative power or a dominion
 * That is, such as are called General, as many as can well meet. “ and Magistracy in faith, there are
 “ so many conditions required both
 “ to their indictment and convention, to
 “ their constitution and integrity, to their conduct and
 “ proceeding, to their conclusion and determination, that
 “ men are not to this day agreed about any one of them;
 “ and therefore they cannot be a legal Judicatory oblig-
 “ ing any but them that do consent, and so oblige them-
 “ selves.

“ §. 31. P. 356. &c. Rule 23: Subscription to Articles
 “ and forms of Confession in any particular Church, is
 “ wholly of Political consideration. — Subscription
 “ ought to be so intended, that he who hath subscribed
 “ may not perceive himself taken in a snare: but yet he
 “ that subscribes must do it to those purposes, and in
 “ that sense and signification of things, which the supreme
 “ power intends in commanding it; that is, at least, that
 “ he that subscribes do actually approve the Articles over-
 “ written: that he does at that time believe them to be such
 “ as it's said they are; *i.e.* true, if they only say they are true;
 “ useful, if they pretend to *usefulness*; necessary, if it be af-
 “ firmed that they are necessary. For if the subscriber be-
 “ lieves not this, he by hypocrisy serves the ends of pub-
 “ lick peace and his own preferment.

“ When Articles are established without necessity,
 “ subscription must be required without Tyranny and
 “ imperiousness. That is, it must be left to the liberty of
 “ the subject to profess or not profess that doctrine —
 “ To bring evil on men that do not believe the Article and
 “ dare not profess to believe what they do not, is injustice
 “ and oppression; it is a law of iniquity, and therefore it
 “ is not obligatory to Conscience, and no humane au-
 “ thority

"thority is sufficient for the sanction and impos-
 "tion, or is it not?"

"*Quest.* Can it be lawful for any man to subscribe what
 "he does not believe to be true, giving his hand to pub-
 "lick peace, and keeping his Conscience for God?"

"*Ans.* No, if subscription signifie approbation; for in
 "that case it is hypocritical, &c. But if subscription im-
 "more than the office of a Clerk of the Signet or Coun-
 "cil, who in form of Law is to sign all the Acts of the
 "Council, it were different. For it is not as an account of
 "his own opinion, but as a formality of the Court: all
 "the world looks on it as none of his personal Opin-
 "ion. But in subscription to Articles of Confession every Eccle-
 "siastick that subscribes, does it for himself. *Deus*
 "*hens & ex animo subscripsit*, is our form in the Church of
 "*England*. If the intention of our Superior be to
 "require our Assent, — he that subscribes does pro-
 "fess his assent; and whatever he thinks himself, it is
 "the intention of the Imposer that qualifyeth the sub-
 "scription. — No particular Church ought with
 "rigour to require subscriptions to Articles not evidently
 "true, and necessary to be professed: because in the di-
 "vision of hearts that is in the world, it is certain that some
 "good men may dissent, and then either they shall be
 "afflicted or tempted to hypocrisy: of either of which if
 "Ecclesiastick Laws be guilty, they are not for edification,
 "they are neither just nor pious; and therefore oblige not.]

"§. 32. P. 358, 359. At least let the Articles be made
 "with as great latitude of sense as they can, and so that
 "subscriptions be made to the form of words, let
 "the subscribers understand them in what sense they
 "please, which the truth of God will suffer and the
 "words can be capable of. This is the last remedy;
 "but it is the worst: It hath in it something of Craft, but

“very little of ingenuity; and if it can serve the ends of
“peace, or of external Charity, or of Phantastick concord,
“yet it cannot serve the ends of truth and holiness, and
“Christian simplicity.

Et it be noted that yet this Doctor largely pleadeth for the Lawfulness of Lying, when it is not injurious but profitable: And if such a man condemn the hypocrisie of such subscriptions, *who* can justifie them? when that medium of *Lawful profitable Lying* seemeth the likeliest to do it in the world.

Note also that I profess not Assent to every word in the foregoing Citations ; But how far they justify me and such others, I leave the Reader to judge, desiring him to read all fullyer in the book, lest he think I wrong the sense by my omitting any thing, which lest I be tedious I am forced to pass by.

ment, no Ruler hath sessions of all the Sub- as the soul doth the bo- and examples, are
power to destroy it. jects are absolutely at dy & the Sun the Stars. grievous to bad men:

7. All humane pow- their will. 6. The true fifth Mo- and so are such Ru-
er is limited by Gods 7. Monarchy is so of narchy is Christs Reign lers as maintain true
Laws, and by their Gods institution that over all the earth by his piety and justice.
own fundamental con- no other form of Go- Vicar General the Pope:
tracts; and by the vernment is lawful. *vid. Campanel. de Reg.* 6. Pride the first
peoples natural interest 8. It is the interest of *Dit.* born of the Devil, mak-
and propriety. Kings to have all things 7. Baptism implicit- eth men desire to be all
8. Monarchy, Ari- and persons at their ly obligeth us to the as Kings. yea as Gods,
stocracy, Democracy wills: and to take all Pope, to have all fulfil their
and mixt government for enemies that are 8. He is no true wills.

are all lawful species. against their wills. Christian or member of
9. What shall be the 9. All sorts of sen- Christs Church who is
species or who the per- sual pleasure, riches not a Subject of the
son (or family) that and absolute command Pope's, though he have
shall rule is not of Na- of all, being the things other virtues.
tural or Scripture de- which nature loveth, 9. The Catholick
termination, but by these are the interest Church and the Roman
Providence preparato- and ends of Princes. are all one.

rily, and consent or 10. It is the interest 10. Temporal Lords
contract obligingly. and wisdom of are all bound on pain
10. Meer conquest Subject to subserve of excommunication
without consent is no these ends, that he may Deposition and Dama- is done for them; and
just title. have as great a share nation, to extermin all too much that is

11. The chief work in them as he can at- nate all their protestant laid upon them; and
of Rulers is to promote tain by pleasing his Subjects, if they can. that they are wronged
the keeping of Gods Prince therein. *Cons. Later. 4.* yea all that when their wills are
Laws, and the even- 11. Every man is will not renounce their cross.

lasting good of men, born for himself, and senses in the belief of
and the temporal good his self is more to him Transubstantiation. 9. It maketh them
in order thereunto. than all the world. And 11. All Princes and think that they are at-
12. Sub-Legislation, he may serve his own Christians are bound to ways in the right,
judgment and exe- interest though it be obey the Laws of Gene- and are fittest to Teach
cution by force, are against the common ral Councils, at least and Rule, and others
their governing acts. good or right. such as the Pope ap- to hear and to obey

13. The supreme 12. The interest and proveth, though Subs them. 10. The Love of the
Power in these, is the wills of the people are jects of other Princes. 10. The Love of the
giver of power to in- contrary to the interest 12. The Pope hath 10. The Love of the
ferior Rulers; and hath and will of Kings: It is the right of calling world makes them im-
no superior Ruler but therefore the wisdom those Councils, and patient of all taxes and
God. of Kings to suppose presiding in them, and burdens that pinch the
14. No power can them his adversaries, approving or reprob- flesh.

disoblige us from any and to weaken them ung them. 13. The Disciple is 11. Landlords and
act of piety and Char- and disable them from 13. The Disciple is 11. Landlords and
ty, for our souls, bo- crossing his will. not above his Master; other great men that
dies, or neighbours, 13. He that will be and all Christian Kings are near them; have
specially for the com- next the King in great- are Disciples of the more power over such
mon good, which the ness, must be next him Pope and Bishops. than the King, because
Law of God in Nature in enmity to the peo- 14. The great Do- they think that their
bindeth us to do. ples weakh, & strength stors of the Church welfare more depend

15. All Subjects must and in disabling them. may be allowed to eth on them.

12. When

ful for the people to explicate faith, and give their Kingdoms to Popery or other false defend themselves. 1. I free religion, and pre- others, and authorize doctrine corrupt him had rather be employ- fer God and Heaven and them to invade them, against the true principled in telling them when the *common Good*, before 24. Though the peoples of government, his It is unlawful: 2. We the Kings command ple take a Papist King zeal will become seditious are not the Interpre- and will. For these of a Protestant King- tious. tres of the Law of the are ungovernable and dom to be their declared Land: 3. And mankind his enemies, that set up *publick enemy, by consent-* 18. Such false teach- will be the interpreters all these so far above *ing to destroy or exter-* ers are the trumpets of of the Law of Nature, him. *minate them if he can, un-* rebellion. whether we will or no: 22. Those that be- der the foresaid penal- 19. Oppression mak- and the world is agreed lieve not another ty of *excommunication*, eth the people mad. that *salus populi suprema* world, and look for no *damnation and depositi-* 20. God oft in justice *Lex est*, next to the de- better than Kings can on, Yet he is bound to clared will of God: give them, and fear not declare himself a Pa- 20. God oft in justice *Precis & lacryme* are sin, or God displeasure, pist (or as they call it, against wicked Rulers our allowed arms, and but yet for the awing of a Roman Catholick), lets loose the popular we pray for Kings and the people, keep up the and is under such obli- fury, as the sea that all in, authority that easie formalities of re- gations. breaks the banks in an we may live a quiet ligation, are the fittest Since King John inundation. and peaceable life in persons to be the favo- gave up his Kingdom all Godliness and ho- rites, Counsellors and to the Pope, Popes laid claim to it. And *Inno-* nesty, and shame be to instruments of a Prince, 4. said, The King of England is our slave and him that desireth and will be, most fully Vassal, who with a nod can imprison him more. obedient to his will. and enslave him to reproach *Mat. Paris* *

* The History of these I undertake to prove, here being not room for Citations.

The marrow of Spinoza's Opera posthuma which I read not till after the writing of what is before. To which Hobbes much agreeth.

1. One substance cannot be produced by another substance. p. 4. Therefore substance cannot be produced by any.

2. All substance is necessarily Infinite. p. 5.

3. This infinite substance is indivisible. p. 11.

4. Besides God there is no substance, nor can any be conceived, so that God is but one; for he is All substance, and its affections or mode: He is *res extensa* & *res cogitans*. p. 12.

5. The University of being is God, and there is nothing but God; who hath no divisible part (for *non datur vacuum*) but all things are imaginable parts of God; substances part of his substance, and souls which are Ideas of his infinite Idea as he is *res cogitans*.

6. As God is of necessity of nature, so all that is substance or mode (or action) is of necessity of Divine nature, essence and perfection.

7. God is the Immanent (that is, essential constitutive) cause of all things; but not a Transient cause.

8. Every thing and act is necessarily determined of God, and nothing can suspend that determination, nor is any thing Contingent; every Volition of man is necessitated by the Divine nature, as all other things are; and no will is free.

9. It is not, nor ever was possible that any thing should be otherwise than it comes to pass.

10. No Intellect should know any thing but God and his Affections; for there is nothing else.

11. God,

11. God, Nature, substance, are all one ; and *Power and being* is perfection : and ends and finall causes are false imaginations , and so are the Notions of good and evil, merit and sin, praise and blame, order and confusion, fairness and deformity, thence arising : Reality is perfection.

12. The soul of man is nothing else but the act of conceiving of some singular existent thing, called an Idea.

13. This soul (or mind) is part of the Infinite Intellect, which is God : And to say [man knoweth] is all one as to say, God, not as Infinite, but as he constituteth the essence of mans mind, hath this Idea.

14. The object of this Idea constituting mans mind, is nothing but *Body* (that is, substance thought of limitedly.)

15. The Idea which is the *Mind* is compounded of a multitude of Idea's.

16. Mans mind hath necessarily an *adequate* knowledge of the eternal and infinite essence of God.

17. Good is that only which I know is profitable to me ; and evil that only which hindreth it.

18. He is most vertuous that most seeketh his own profit or conservation, (and contrarily he worst that most neglecteth it).

19. To do any thing vertuously is nothing else but to seek ones own profit rationally.

20. No man seeks his own preservation for the sake of any thing else.

21. To understand is mans profit, and to know God (that is, Infinite substance or All Emity) is the chief Vertue.

22. What ever agreeth to my nature is necessarily Good.

23. Mirth can have no excess, nor sorrow ever be good.

24. Hu-

24. Humility is no Vertue, nor cometh from reason.

25. Repentance is no Vertue, nor of reason, but a double misery.

26. He that is in fear, and doth good to escape evil, is not led by reason.

27. A free mind thinks not of death, nor of good or evil.

28. No ill can come to a man but from external causes.

29. Whatever we account hurtful to us, we may remove any way that we can safely: And whatever we account profitable we may take and use if we can, by any means: And it's absolutely lawful to every man by the law of nature to do any thing which he judgeth is for his profit.

30. All things are good which make us merry: and the merryer any man is, the more of the Divine nature and perfection he hath.

31. No man can hate God, nor choose but Love him.

32. To desire that God Love us, is to desire that he should not be God.

33. Mans mind remembreth not out of the body; but is not absolutely destroyed with the body (because it is part of God).

34. God loveth man by Loving himself, and so Gods Love to man, and mans Love to God is one and the same thing; and mans felicity.

35. There is nothing in nature which is contrary to this Intellectual Love, or that can destroy it.

36. Because Gods right is only his Power, therefore the right of man is only his power to exist and act; For the natural power of every thing, by which it existeth

Q

and

and operateth, is nothing but Gods own power (which is God.)

37. By the Law of nature then I mean the very Laws of nature, or Rules according to which all things are done, that is, Natures power. Right extendeth as far as Power: and whatever any man doth by his nature, he doth by the highest Right of Nature.

38. And because man is not only rational, but men are more led by blind lust than by reason; therefore their natural right is to be defined, not by reason, but by any appetite which determineth them to act. *p. 271.* No difference is to be made though some appetites be unreasonable; For both are the effects of nature. Whatever a man is, he is a part of nature; (or God) and natures power determineth him to all that he doth.

39. A sound mind is no more in our power than a sound body: And Divines remove not this difficulty by talking of the corruption of nature and original sin; or the deception of the Devil.

40. The Right and Law of Nature is against nothing but that which no man desireth, and no man can do; it forbids not contentions, hatred, wrath, deceits, nor absolutely any thing which the appetite desireth. *p. 273.*

41. For whatever we call Ridiculous, absurd, evil, is because we see but part, and would have all ordered after our Reason; But it is not evil as to the order and Law of universal nature.

42. One is under anothers Law, while he is under his Power: and is free or *sui juris* so far as he hath power to resist force, and live as he list. *p. 274.*

43. We are no longer under anothers Law, than fear or hope perswade us to it.

44. Fidelity promised to another, is so long only in force (*ratu*) till the promiser change his will : when he seeth that keeping his word will hurt him, the Law of nature disobligeth him. *p.* 274.

45. Men are by nature enemies, in danger of each other : and each one being not sufficient to defend himself, hence comes Politics.

46. There is no sin in a state of nature (unless against our selves.) He that followeth ignorance and lust doth keep natures order, and do what nature binds him to, as well as he that followeth reason. *p.* 276.

47. There is no sin therefore but against common consent in Empire, where every one hath given up his private right to the publick : So Justice and injustice are only as they respect humane Empire.

48. Every Citizen must obey all the Cities commands, and hath no right to discern what is just or unjust, pious or impious ; but because the will of the City is to be every ones will, whatever the City judgeth just and good, the Citizen that judgeth it evil, must nevertheless do.

49. Our knowledge and Love of God and man, are out of Rulers power : And outward acts of worship do nothing help or hinder our knowledge and Love of God ; and therefore are not to be so far regarded, as to break for them the publick peace and concord : every man may any where worship God inwardly. *p.* 282. &c.

50. Two Cities are naturally enemies, as are two men : And it is lawful for one to try by war to subdue the other. It is enough to make a war lawful, to have a will to it : But to peace, both must accord. *p.* 284.

51. Covenants bind as long as the cause continueth, fear of dammage or hope of gain, and no longer : nor ought the breach to be called deceit or perfidiousness. *p.* 284.

52. The contracts or Laws by which the Multitude give up their Right to one Council, or one man, undoubtedly may be violated as soon as it is the interest of common safety to violate them. *p.* 288.

53. They that think it possible for one only to have the *summum Civitatis jus*, do much err : For Right is determined only by Power ; But one mans power is very unable for such a burden. *p.* 292. When the people choose a King, he must choose Commanders, Councillors, friends, to whom he committeth both his own and the common safety, so that the Government which is taken to be Absolute Monarchy, is really in practice Aristocracy ; not indeed *manifest*, but *latent*, and therefore the worst.

Besides that a King, that's a child, sick, heavy with age, is a precarious King : But they have indeed the chief power, who do the chief business of the Government, or are next the King : to pass by, that a King lyable to lust, doth oft mannaage all by the lust of one, or another Whore or Pandor. *p.* 293.

54. Hence it followeth that a King is so much the less *sui juris*, and the Subjects condition is so much the more miserable, by how much the more absolutely the *Civitatis jus*, (the publick power) is transferred on him. — A Monarch is most *sui juris*, when he most consults the safety (or good) of the multitude. *p.* 293.

55. As to religion, no Temples should be built at the publick charge ; nor laws be made about opinions, unless they be seditious, and overthrow the foundations of the City : But let them that are allowed publick exercise of religion, build their own Temples, and the King have his Chapel. *p.* 301.

His discourse for Aristocracy I pretermite ; so much of Spinoza.

The

THe truth is (as Mr. *Peter Sterry* unhappily found) it is hard avoiding this frame of Doctrine, for the Predeterminants who hold that the Volitions and actions of all men are predetermined by Gods necessitating unresistible premotion as the first cause of nature and motion, and that in all their modes and circumstances; and that the will can have no power to do any thing, more or less, than it is thus predetermined to do, and that moral good and evil are caused as necessarily by God as Light and Darkeness are: Were these mens Physicall conceits as certain, as all the principles of Religion, natural and revealed, which they totally overthrow, they might stagger many: But not when sick and proud mens dreams are set against mans common Light, right and interest.

IN all this the Reader must still remember, 1. that I recite other mens Political principles, only that the accusers of my own and such others may compare them together, and see which they judge more rational and loyal; and what parties they can find in all the world, whose principles of Government they will rest in, when ours are condemned.

2. And yet I make not my self an arrogant censor of all that differ from me; but confess that singularity, especially in matters of other mens profession, excuseth suspicion in the Reader; and where he findeth me differ from the most of Protestants and Papists, he oweth no more regard to my judgement, than cogent evidence should command.

I confels though they word it variously, and also differ about the case of some particular Kingdoms, most of the forementioned sorts of Lawyers, Politick writers, Divines, &c. seem to differ from some of my princip'es ; But many differ more in notion than in meaning. Most of them all make the multitude the prime subject and cause of severaign power, from whom all sorts of chief Rulers do receive it : and that they do this for their necessary peace, safety and prosperity, which they may defend against perfidious betrayers of it, &c. But if you mark it, withal you shall find that, 1. they say that the *Law of nature bindeth them to gather into Cities*, and to *choose governours*; 2. and that they call the peoples Sovereignty or power, but as Mr. *Hooker the Habit*, and say the *Act* belongeth to the Ruler so chosen : and as others say, *It is Majestas realis* which yet may not actually *Rule*, but convey the *Majestatem personalem* to him or them that only must rule. By all which they plainly confels, 1. That God hath not left it to their choice whether they be a Governed society (*Civitas*) or not; For the Law of nature which is Gods Law, obligeth them to it. 2. That it is not *actual Governing* that he thus obligeth the multitude to, but *to choose the species and persons* that shall be *Recipients*. 3. And when they can name no more power but *choosing the Recipients* (one or more) and *Limiting* his power in matters of Propriety and other things to which God hath not by his Law extended it without their consent, it's plain that this is not to be the *Givers* of the *Ruling power*. Most changes in the world Physical and Moral are made by *Diversification of the Dispositio Receptiva* (most or many think Generation doth no more as to the soul.) This is not nothing. God saith [*To men so qualified, and so chosen or lawfully receptive I will give such and such power as my Officers ;*] And He *qualifieth them,*

them, and the People choose or consent to the Persons in some places, and the successive families in others : so that Receptivity is of man, with some exceptions or Limitations ; but the authority is immediately from God.

Gregory Sayrus is justly accounted one of the best and moderatest Popish Casuists that ever wrote, and in his excellent *Clav. Regia* he saith, *Lib. 3. c. 1. p. 109, 110, &c.* not only de *sine* (which most agree to) “[*Hanc par-*
“ *ticulam quod Lex ordinari debet ad bonum commune, Barth.*
“ *Medina 1. 2. q. 90. a. 2. veram & intelligendam esse*
“ *docet non solum de jure, sed etiam de facto, ut Lex illa qua in*
“ *privatum commodum instituitur, ita ut nullo modo in uti-*
“ *litatem publicam referatur, lex non sit, sed iniquitas. Deinde*
“ *ita intelligitur, ut si cesset ratio boni communis & ejus uti-*
“ *litas, statim lex cessat, & vim obligandi non habet: so Alph.*
“ *à Castrol. 1. de potest. legis pœnal. c. 5. doc. 3.* And he addeth
“ *p. 111. himself [Where a Law ceaseth to be profitable to the*
“ *Common-wealth, then it altogether ceaseth to be a Law,*
“ *and is not obligatory (But this I have elsewhere fullier*
“ *opened) And as to the question in hand [“ Hæc cura*
“ *populi & potestas super illum licet omnis à Deo sit, illam*
“ *tamen homines diversimode à Deo habent, non semper à*
“ *Deo immediate, sed sæpe per populi consensum, à quo primum*
“ *Deo annuente aut permittente illam accepit ; nec majorem*
“ *quam illi populus ob initio concessit : tam aperta & manifesta*
“ *est hæc populi potestas, &c.]* And so he goeth on to prove
“ *out of Xenophon, Julian, Jurisc. the Canon Law, &c.*
“ *that the community is quoddam totum liberum habens jus*
“ *naturaliter regendi seipsum ; ita hoc jus potest transferre in*
“ *aliud, & vices suas alteri delegare ; and that Kings*
“ *have been made by the people from the beginning, and*
“ *from their consent the Governing power still cometh.*
“ *And that [a Law not necessary by Gods making, made*
“ *by a Lay Prince, the whole people contradicting, is of no*
“ *force,*

“force, unless the people have given their whole power to the Prince or Senate, which is to be known by the ancient Custom of making Laws among them.”]

“Yet note that the same Author addeth, p. 112. that as to Ecclesiastical power, though he that hath it be chosen to it by man, yet he receiveth the Power immediately from God]. And how will he ever prove that Church Power is any more from God than the necessary part of Civil power? Is not the *ratio derivandi* the same so far, that in both, the people do but choose the Receivers (and limit in the unnecessary parts) and God immediately give the power? The case is the same in both.

Asto the rest of the Papists doctrine, he knoweth nothing of them that knoweth not that commonly they make the King, not only dependant on the Pope, but more also on the *Efficient Power* and will of the people than most Protestants do; where there is in this any difference, the Papists are the more popular.

And for Protestants I will not meddle with Divines but Lawyers, School Doctors and Politick writers; who commonly go further for the peoples power than ever I or any *Nonconformists* of my familiarity did approve (Pardon our singularity) I would desire no more of such as the *Counterminer*, and other accusers of our principles, but to read over *Navarre*, *Covarruvias*, *Azorius*, *Contzen*, *Menchius*, *Arasius*, *Koningh*, and such others, yea the most powerful defenders of Monarchy, *Bodin*, *Barclay*, *Heimburgh*, *Grotius*, And then read the Protestant Lawyers and Doctors of Philosophy, and compare our principles here with them all.

I will pass by such as Learned *Hottomin*, *Gothofrid*, *Kekerman*, *Alstedius*, *Hornius*, and now instance only in *Althusius* a Lawyer. In his Politicks (I will not English it) he saith in *Prefat.* (just like Mr. Hooker) [“*Affero*”
— *hec*

" hac jura Majestatis, quæ dicuntur, regno adeo esse propriis,
 " ut soli hæc competant, ejusque spiritus vitalis, anima,
 " cor & vita sint, quibus salvis Resp. vivit; & quibus sub-
 " latis interit & perit illa, nomineque hoc indigna judicanda.
 " Concedo horum jurium Principem seu summum Magistra-
 " tum esse dispensatorem, administratorem vel procuratorem:
 " Proprietatem vero illorum & usumfructum adeo jure ad reg-
 " num seu populum universum pertinere contendo, ut hunc
 " etiamsi velit se abdicare, eaque in alium transferre & ali-
 " enare, nequaquam possit, non minus quam vitam quam quis-
 " que habet, alii communicare potest. Jura hæc à populo
 " seu membris Regni & Reip. constituta sunt; ab illis in-
 " ceperunt, atque non nisi in illis consistere possunt, & ab
 " illis conservari. Horum quoque administratio quæ princi-
 " pi est precario seu ex pacto concessa, illo mortuo ad populum,
 " qui ob perpetuam successionem immortalis dicitur, revertitur,
 " & alii ab eodem demandatur, cujus unus vel plures capa-
 " ces esse possint.

" Et Cap. 14. de Ephoris he copiously asserteth that
 " these Ephori or Patricii, seniores, principes, status, primo-
 " res regni, are the peoples trustees, above the chief Magi-
 " strate, as All conjunct representing the people, but singly his
 " inferiours (p. 142.) and what they do, the people doth, p.
 " 139. Chosen to make the chief Magistrate, and to keep
 " him within his limits, p. 141. To be his Council in great-
 " est matters, yea to judge whether the chief Magistrate per-
 " form his office, and to resist and hinder his Tyranny. p.
 " 146, 147. He layeth down eight reasons as to prove
 " the right of these Optimates to resist Tyrants (I will not
 " recite them) and by Scriptures and examples to con-
 " firm it; And then proceedeth to answer, 1. Who may
 " and ought to resist the Magistrate, 2. What Magistrate
 " may be resisted, 3. When, 4. How, 5. How far and
 " how long. He applyeth it, 1. To Tyrants absque ti-
 " tulo,

“*tulo, 2. To Tyrants exercitio, (not all that are faulty*
 “*but) by these notes described by him, Revera ille Tyran-*
 “*nus dicendus est qui malitiose & hostiliter & consulto*
 “*data opera Remp. & Ecclesiam vastat, pervertit, turbat,*
 “*cultum dei abolet vel profanat, vel quæ dei sunt affectans*
 “*sibi vendicat & usurpat.*

“*Qui res regni in privatum usum convertit, quique in-*
 “*perniciem publicam bonæ regni profundit, dissipat, alienat,*
 “*minuit, & dilapidat.*

“*Qui Leges regni fundamentales violat, mutat, tollit,*
 “*præsertim illas quæ religionem veram concernunt,*
 Dent. 13. 14. 15.

“*Qui opes subditorum exhaurit, omina in fiscum con-*
 “*vertens, & sanguinem populi usque ad deliquium eli-*
 “*ciens, opera, labore, sudore, bonis & sanguine subditorum*
 “*abutitur.*

“*Qui divisiones seu schismata inter subditos fovet, ut*
 “*altera pars factionis alteram metuat, & neutra in illum*
 “*rebellet aut insurgat.*

“*Qui in paupertate vult vivere subditos, ut interim*
 “*intenti labori ad vitam sustentandam, in eum non in-*
 “*furgant.*

“*Qui nititur bella nutrire, ut illis enervet vires sub-*
 “*ditorum.*

“*Qui factione existente inter subditos, uni parti plus*
 “*quam alteri favet, cum posset suo imperio utrique parti*
 “*jubere convenire.*

“*Qui hostis est suorum subditorum.*

“*Qui primores regni dolo, fraude vel vi opprimit,*
 “*aliosque viros graves, justos, innocentes affligit, odio*
 “*prosequitur.*

“*Qui ad populi mores corrumpendos, ganeas, popinas,*
 “*lupanaria, ludosve alios inhonestos instituit.*

“*Qui factiones & dissidia inter subditos ferit, alit, fo-*
 “*vet.* Qui.

"Qui seminaria virtutum & officinas pietatis, gymnasia,
"ludos literarios abolet, negligit.

"Qui abutitur Majestatis juribus & potestate sua à
"populo accepta.

"Qui prohibet Congregationes honestas & licitas metu
"conjuracionis, aut rebellionis, sine alia tamen precedente
"suspicionem.

"Qui submittit ubique auscultatores clancularios &
"delatores, seu speculatores ad colligendum quæ de se
"dicuntur.

"Et in summa, qui totis viribus ad statum Reip. &
"Leges regni fundamentales mutandas vel evertendas,
"quantum in ipso est, enititur.

"Pag. 160. ["5. Tamdiu resistendum est, quamdiu
"durat tyrannus, quousque *verbis*, facto, dolo, vel arte
"oppugnat Remp. & pacto inito contraria *facit*, loqui-
"tur, vel agit : adeo ut ejusmodi tyrannum ab officio
"removere, administratione demandata privare, immo
"etiam si aliter contra vim se defendere non possunt, inter-
"ficere, & alium in ejus locum substituere possint. See
"also *Balt. Willius Politicks pag. 591, 592.* more plain-
"ly to that purpose. If such as this and *Grotius* his do-
"ctrine of resistance *de jure belli*, and Mr. *George Lawsons*
"a Conformist in his *Ecclesiastical Polit.* be compared with
"the Principles which only are asserted in this Account,
"and held by us Nonconformists, me thinks the accusers
"of our principles should repent.

I wonder that *Hobbs de cive* should be magnified by such
French men as *Gassendus*, *Sorberius* and *Merfennus*: But it
seems some French Philosophers (and Prelates too) are
looser in their principles of policie and Loyalty than
we are.

His principles are, 1. "That Nature giveth a man
"Right to all things: that is, Before men bind themselves

“ by Covenants to one another, it is lawful for every one
 “ to do whatever they list and to whomsoever, and to
 “ possess, use and enjoy whatever they will and can.
 “ *pag. 12.*

“ 2. For it is the first foundation of natural right that
 “ every man may defend his life and members as much as
 “ he is able: And having right to that as the end, it were
 “ in vain unless he had right to the means, that is, to
 “ use all means, and do any action without which he can-
 “ not preserve himself. *p. 11.*

“ 3. The natural state of men before mutual Cove-
 “ nants, is a state of War, because what every man hath
 “ right to, another hath right to, and may resist his de-
 “ sires, whence arise perpetual suspicions, enmities, &c.
 “ so that all men are at war with all men. *p. 14, 15.*

“ 4. Nature teacheth us to desire peace for our inte-
 “ rest, and when we cannot have it, to get the greatest
 “ helps for war. *p. 15. 22.*

“ 5. Therefore the Law of nature teacheth us to give up
 “ our right by contracts for this peace and security from
 “ one another. *p. 24.*

“ 6. No man is bound by any Covenants whatsoever
 “ not to resist him that would kill him, wound him, or do
 “ him any other bodily hurt: every mans natural fear resist-
 “ eth hurt; by flight or fighting: And no man is bound to
 “ impossibility: Only fidelity bindeth Covenanters;
 “ Therefore we bind malefactors that go to punishment
 “ with Cords, because they may resist if they can: To
 “ Covenant [If I do this, kill me] is one thing: But to
 “ say [*If you kill me I will not resist*] is another. Laws
 “ bind not the punished from resisting, but others from
 “ defending them. *p. 31, 32, 33.*

“ 7. No Covenant or Law bindeth one to accuse him-
 “ self, or to accuse any other whose suffering will be
 “ the bitterness of his life. *p. 33.*

8. The

"8. The concord of many is the only security for our peace. *p.* 79, 80.

"9. This must be by a Civil Union, which is by putting all our Rights into the hand of one Civil person, that is, Monarch or Councils absolutely (except as before excepted) *p.* 84.

"10. This Union maketh a City, or Civil society, all mens wills being now one, that is, the Cities.

"11. The man or the Council to whose will all have given up their wills, have the *supreme Power*, and all are their subjects, that is, All have given up their right of resisting them. *p.* 87.

"12. But no man is supposed to have bound himself to any thing further than he is secured from fear of danger while he wrongs not others; nor to have parted with his right of arbitrary self defence, when the City defends him not. *p.* 93.

"13. Subjection ceaseth, 1. when the Sovereign deserts or abdicateth his government, 2. when the City falls into the hands of enemies, 3. if no successor appear. *p.* 136, 137.

"14. It is seditious to say that any Subject may discern and judge what is good or evil: For the rule of Good and evil, just and unjust, honest and dishonest, is only the Cities Laws, and whatever the Lawmaker commandeth is good, and whatever he forbids is evil. It's seditious to say that we must not obey Kings when they command things evil and unjust; for antecedent to mans Empire nothing is just or unjust, but all actions are indifferent: This was Gods oldest Law, Thou shalt not eat of the tree of Knowledge of good and evil, that is, not make thy self a discerning judge of it: and the oldest temptation was, you shall be as Gods knowing good and evil. *pag.* 191:

"15. It

"15. It is seditious to say that it is lawful to kill a Tyrant (that is not an Usurper,) for then every murderer were master of a Monarchs life : And yet *All the old Sophists, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch,* and the rest of the fautors of the Greek and Roman Anarchy thought it not only Lawful, but worthy of the greatest praise. *p. 193.*

"16. It is seditious to say that the highest Power may be divided. What more pernicious to the City than that men should be affrighted with the fear of everlasting torment from obeying Princes, that is, Laws, that is, from being just? *p. 197.*

"17. It is seditious to say, that faith and Holiness are not acquired by study and natural reason, but are always supernaturally infused or inspired. *p. 197.*

"He thought that Christs Kingdom was to begin only at the Resurrection (which I suppose not believing any, he speaketh in contempt) : He was a ware that the Bishop of *Rome* had his power only in one Empire ; and that Atheists are not of the Kingdom of God. But I pass by the rest, it being mostly the same with *Spinoza's*. And briefly, contrary to his malis of Brutism, Atheism, Infidelity and self-contradiction, I oppose, besides what is aforesaid :

1. Mans natural state is a state of due subjection to God as universal King :

2. Our thoughts, words and actions are not indifferent, but are duty or sin as they are conform or disconform to his Law.

3. Mans Laws could make no duty or sin but as empowered by Gods Law.

4. The world being Gods Kingdom, all are his Subjects as to obligation, hypocrites by meer profession, and the faithful by true consent.

5. God binding all men to Love him above all and our neigh-

neighbours as our selves, we are so far from being born to a Common war, that nature uncorrupt and repaired is a state of Love, and nature corrupt reprimed and under Common grace, is sociable, and hath some natural Love to others, yea to mankind; and as beasts love the company of their like, so do men; and all good men love the good. And all are obliged by the Laws of Love, to love others, and do all the good they can.

6. It's true that corruption making bad men like brutes by sensuality and selfishness, sets them in a state of war; which common and special grace heal in their several measures.

7. God bindeth all as his Subjects to obey, first their parents, and then to choose officers whom he shall empower under him to rule according to his universal Laws, and officiate as his Ministers; and all that can must live in such order.

8. The ends of this order are first the fulfilling of the will of God as universal King, and next the common good, and next our own of soul and body, and not only our own corporal peace and pleasure.

9. No man hath naturally a right to another mans, nor to any more than God giveth him by nature or just acquisition; and to rob, kill, slander, fornicate, &c. is a sin, whether we are under contracts or mens Laws or not.

10. Societies are for Common good, more than for my own.

11. They are not made by arbitrary giving up our power; for God first instituted them, and described the parts universally necessary, and our power to govern or dispose of our own lives was none, but as under him; and publick power is quite of another *species*. We have power to obey God and such as he shall by due consent of man set over us and authorize.

12. Life must not be defended when justice sentenceth us to death.

13. It's Gods will and power in Rulers that we must obey, and not only the peoples united in them.

14. All must discern Good and evil, as it's Duty and sin; not in their own conceits and wills first, but as in Gods Law's determined.

15. It is wickedness to obey man against Gods Law, more than to obey a Justice against the King.

16. If Kings only make duty and sin, Kings only must protect, reward and punish men.

17. To make the power of Kings independant on Gods Law's, is to subvert their foundation.

18. It's not seditious but necessary to tell men of Gods future judgement, against those that obey men against God.

But the rest is before confuted, which perhaps I have already too oft repeated.

I once thought to have added several other Columns, that other mens judgements, and the Nonconformists might be compared by such as would judge in the light, and not in darknes, viz. I. The judgement of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Zenophon*, *Isocrates*, *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, and others of the famousst of the old Philosophers and Historians and Orators.

II. The judgement of the most applauded writers of Politicks: both Papists, such as *Besoldus*, *Arniseus*, *Lipsius*, *Contzen*, *Tholosanus*, *Sayrus*, *Fragoso*, *Azorinus*, and such moderate ones as *Bodin*, *Comminens*, *Thuanus*, &c. and Protestants, such as *Daneus*, *Willius*, *Burgerfidius*, *Alstedius*, and many such.

III. And the judgement of the most famous Lawyers; especially such as were the most strenuous defenders of Monarchy; of whom *Goldastus* notifieth divers that defended

fended the German Emperors: But *Barclay* and *Grotius* are of all the most eminent.

I V. And in another Column the judgement of many English Bishops, Doctors and Historians.

But the plain truth is, that I fear should I recite their words they would be misinterpreted and do hurt: He that would see what the first sort of old Greek and Latine Authors say, may find much in their sentences collected by *Alstedius* in his *Encyclop. Florileg. Polit.* where you have enough to make a Volume out of *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius*, *Sallustius*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, *Comminaus*, &c. of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, *Isocrates*, *Agapetus*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*: And indeed so many of the famousst Greek and Latine Philosophers, Historians and Orators, were so much for Liberty and spake so dangerously of Tyrants, and praised the Killing of them, and had so mean or bad thoughts of Kings that were not eminently good, that it is enough that their books are in the hands of Scholars.

II. And the Authors of Politicks and Laws, (especially *Suarez de Legibus* and *Azorius*) I find are commonly read by Lawyers: And indeed I cannot see how any man can understand his Countreys Laws, who doth not understand the doctrine of Government and Laws in *genere*, which is the doctrine of Politicks. III. And Historians usually write as their interest and the state of their proper Countrey leads them, some flattering Princes, some wisely describing them, and some speaking hardly of them, (as *Math. Paris* yet accounted credible, did of *Henry 3.* and *Gildas* of the Brittish Princes,) And some (as *Holinshhead* that speaks of the power of Parliaments to depose or take down mighty Kings, being a Clergy-man and out of his callings way) do not well understand the Governments which they describe.

I V. And the Lawyers I leave to Lawyers that are best acquainted with them.

But I must add, 1. That if in any point I differ from men in the matters of their own Profession, modesty requireth me not to be too peremptory, but to suspect my own understanding. 2. And that I blame not Historians for describing Tyrants and bad Rulers as they were, when they are dead: For our duty of obeying them, and much of honouring them, is then at an end. God will have the name of the wicked to rot: And truth is the daughter of time: True History is necessary to the living, both Princes and people. If Doctor *Heylin* give so ill a note of good King *Edward* 6th. no wonder if he take more liberty in describing King *Henry* 8th. And if he take liberty to characterize so disgracefully Arch-Bishop *Grindal*, Abbot, *Usher*, &c. no wonder if others speak worse of worse Arch-Bishops and Bishops.

I will add here honest *Erasmus* his Image of a Good and of a Bad King, as recited by *Alstedius*, *Encyclop. de Polit.*

"I. If you will paint a good Prince, you shall deline some
 "celestial wight, liker to a God than to a man; absolute
 "in all the numbers of vertues; given for the good of
 "all, yea given from them above to support the affairs of
 "mortals; who being most discerning observeth all, and
 "looketh to all; to whom nothing is more regarded,
 "nothing sweeter than the Commonweal; who hath more
 "than a Fatherly mind to all; to whom every ones life
 "is dearer than his own; who day and night doth and
 "endeavoureth nothing else but that it may be very well
 "with all; who hath rewards ready for all good men;
 "and pardon to the bad, sobeit they will amend; who de-
 "sireth so freely to deserve well of his subjects, that if
 "it be needful, he will not stick to look to their safety
 "by his own danger; who taketh the profit of his
 coun-

“ countrey for his gain; who always waketh that others
 “ may sleep; who leaveth himself no quiet (*otium*) that
 “ his country may live in quietness; who disquieteth him-
 “ self with successive cares, that his Citizens may enjoy
 “ tranquillity; lastly, on whose virtue dependeth the pub-
 “ lick felicity.

I I. His Image of a bad Prince.

“ If you would represent to the eye a bad Prince, paint
 “ some wild and cruel beast, made up of a *Dragon*, a
 “ *Wolf*, a *Lyon*, a *Viper*, a *Bear*, and such strange things,
 “ armed every way with six hundred eyes; on every side
 “ toothed; on every side to be feared, with crooked fangs,
 “ an insatiable belly; fatted with mans bowels; drunk
 “ with mans blood; which sleepeth not, that he may prey
 “ upon the fortunes and lives of all; hurtful to all, but
 “ especially to the good; a certain fatal mischief of the
 “ whole world; whom all men curse and hate, who wish
 “ well to the Common-wealth; who for his cruelty can-
 “ not be endured, and yet cannot be taken away without
 “ great ruin of the world, because his malice is armed
 “ with guards and wealth].

Or as *Tacitus* (*de Tiberio*) describeth him (cited by
Alsted. p. 253.)

“ The signs of one that will be a Tyrant and cruel
 “ Prince are; If when he hath got the Empire, he accuse
 “ mens countenances as criminal; and require unmea-
 “ surable flatteries; and catch at the words of his pub-
 “ lick Councillors; and open his ears to accusing dela-
 “ tors; and take mens judgement of him whatever, and
 “ their free speeches of the Common-wealth for a crime;
 “ and lastly, if good men are suspected by him.

“ *Et de Germanico formidolosus Tiberio* : To Tyrants,
 “ good men, and such as are acceptable to the people, and
 “ love the peoples liberty, are always formidable.

“ And *Tyrannidis obscura & pedetentim serpentis hæc sunt initia, cum qui Princeps electus est majorum negotiorum cognitionem sibi uni reservans, & ex suo unius arbitratu ea statuens, leviorum & quæ Reipublicæ incolumitatem non attingunt, disceptationem ad Ordines remittit*: (But it must be remembered that this was spoken in the Roman Empire).

“ And his *Tiberii vera sententia* was [*Quanto plus gliscit imperantis potestas, tanto jura minuuntur: itaque non permittendum ut is utatur imperio, ubi Legibus agipotest.*]

“ And his saying of Germanicus hath its use: [“ A Prince may better know what is the judgement of his army and people of him, by mens private discourse and table-talk, than by Sermons and publick conventions, especially such as are appointed by himself.]

“ And of Courtiers (*de Sejano*) he saith [*Aulici, in quorum potestate est Rex, & ex quorum voluntate gerit omnia, quamdiu tyranni non sunt, aut tyrannidem non affertant, vel ultores metuunt, bonis consiliis & salutaribus reipublicæ fere innotescere volunt.*

I conclude with this warning, that [Corrupted nature is so backward to just obedience, and yet Tyranny is so great a plague to mankind, by hindering the preaching of the Gospel to Heathens and infidels through the world, that all Christians should detest both Tyranny and Rebellion, and take heed of encouraging the principles of either, and specially that on pretence of obeying right reason and the Law of nature in self defence, they do not with *Hobbs* and *Spinoza*, take the Corruption of nature and reason for nature and Reason it self, and think that sensuality or fancie should rule the man and be the Rule of his obedience, and that all is Lawful that we think is necessary to the preservation of our *personal interest*. And therefore that we take not all for current which

which is agreed on by the most of all mankind, even in the 'politicks of the old Greeks and Romans, of Infidels, of Papists and of Protestants, however we must be modest in our dissent.

CHAP. VII.

Our Doctrine about the Church, Church Government, worship and Communion.

WE know nothing else that suspicions do call us more to give the world an account of our Doctrine of, than the nature, Government and Communion of the Church and the manner of Gods worship in it: which yet having some of us already published more largely, and also in 1660. when allowed by his Majesty, given in our desires thereabout (in offering Arch-Bishop *Ushers* form of Primitive Government and a specimen of a Reformed Liturgy) we suppose no more than these following Propositions will be needful to be here added.

1. The CHURCH is a word of many significations, of which the principal is The UNIVERSALITY OF CHRISTIANS HEADED BY CHRIST.

2. In a narrower sense it signifyeth these Christians as Christs Body or Kingdom contradistinct from Christ the Head; As the word [Kingdom] sometimes includeth the King, and sometimes signifieth the people as contradistinct from him.

3. The bond of Union between *Christ* the Head and his *Subjects* or members is, 1. *Faith* and the *Holy Spirit* internally, 2. The *Covenant of Baptism* externally; or *Heart Covenanting* and *Outward Covenanting*.

4. Ac-

4. Accordingly those that *Covenant sincerely with the Heart* and are *true Believers*, are *Justified* and *Adopted heirs of Heaven* : and as they *Covenant with the mouth* or the *Outward* reception of *Baptism*, they are *outwardly* or by *Sacramental Profession*, members or *Christians*. With respect to each , the Church is usually called *invisible*, and *visible*, or the *sincere Regenerate Church*, and the *Professing Church*. But *Heart consent* and *Outward Profession* conjoined make *one Church*, as *Soul and Body* make *one man* : And the *Hypocrites* that *Covenant with the Lips* alone are but *members secundum quid*, and only of the *Outward Society*. 5. It is by the *Outward Covenanting* and *Profession*, that we must judge of the *Heart covenanting* and *Sincerity* : and all are to be taken for *visible Christians* or members of the *Universal Church*, who are *Baptized* professors of *Christianity*, and have not by *contrary Profession* or *practice* *Apostatized*.

6. The *Universal Church* as *Believing* or as *Professing* (*mystical* or *visible*) hath *no universal Head but Christ* : who is an *Invisible Head* as he is *unseen* to us in *Heaven*, but *Visible* as he is *there now seen* (as the *King* by his *Courtiers*) and as he *was seen on earth*, and *will be shortly seen* of all the world. But as for the *Pope* or any other pretended head, 1. No man giveth us any proof that ever *Christ* appointed and authorized any such Head : and it's *Treason* against him to *usurp* such a power.

2. No mortal man hath *Natural capacity* of such an office. An *Universal Head* must relate to the Church in all parts of the world, not only as *it is now* extended, but as *it shall be* at any time : and no man is able to do the work of a *real Governour* and *Guide* at the *Antipodes*, and in all Nations of the earth, even in the Kingdoms where *Princes* by wars or *Infidelity* deny access to foreigners, and subjects of their enemies : and where cases that require a speedy decision may

may wait half an age till the parties are dead, before it can be dispatcht at *Rome*, and witnesses cannot go so far: And when Church Government extends no farther, than to judge who shall be in the Ministry and in Church Communion, and to decide particular cases of *faith* and *Life* in order to this end, Princes and People are unhappy men, if they must be without Teachers or Sacraments, or without a certain Faith in *Abassia*, *Armenia*, at the *Antipodes* and in all the world, till they receive a just determination from *Rome*.

And if his universal Government be but to commit the Government of several Kingdoms of the world to several Generals under him, Princes and People that are at hand do better know how to choose meet men to Teach themselves, of those that are of their own language, and acquainted with the place, than a stranger at *Rome* can do, to whom at the death of every *General* some Countries may be many years in sending and receiving back a *General*, who it's two to one will not come alive to them, or it's three to one, will be one unfit for them: and in some Kingdoms cannot come at all, because of the interjacent countries of enemies: no nor messages pass about the business. What work the Prelates of *England* (which is near) have formerly made by running to *Rome*, and waiting for decisions, is known by current history. None on earth will pretend to a sufficiency to govern all the world in things spiritual, any more than in Temporals, except it be a *Proud Fool* or a *Proud deceiver*, both which are the most unfit to be rulers of all the world.

3. *Rome* never pretended to a Government of all the world, but only to a *Primacy* in one *Empire*; for many hundred years after Christ, Proved, 1. Because only the Prince of one Empire did frequently choose and ever rule them, who had no power over any other Kingdom.

2. Because

2. Because the four other Patriarchs, whom he pretended to have a Primacy among, had no power out of the Empire, at least not over all the world: and the Pope never then pretended to a Primacy of any further extent than the four Patriarchats.

3. Because the General Councils where he presided, or pretended to preside were General at the utmost but as to one Empire: as the Church History, and the names of the subscribers shew to every impartial searcher. None out of the Empire came thither, unless now and then an odd person of some neighbour countrey that was glad to be strengthened by the Roman Vicinity, or some that had been before of the Empire, and were conquered by Infidels or Hereticks and kept their former Custome. And those Councils that were most General were summoned by Emperors, who had nothing to do in the rest of the world.

4. No History mentioneth that the Pope then pretended to or exercised any government in the Empire of *Abassia* (of which see *Godignus*) nor in *Persia*, *India*, or *Brittain* till *Austines* times: but when the Romans perswaded any poor neighbours Countrey to the faith of Christ, those Countries were willing after to be directed by the Romans, especially being ambitious of the honour and protection of the Imperial favour. *Reimerius* saith [*Armeniorum Ecclesie & Ethiopum & Indorum & cetera quas Apostoli converterunt, non subsunt Ecclesie Romanae*] *Biblioth. Patr. To. 4. p. 773.* [*The Armenian Churches and the Ethiopian and Indian, and the rest which the Apostles did convert, are not under the Church of Rome.*]

4. *Rome's* pretended Primacy in that one Empire was not of *Divine* authority but of *Humane*. For, 1. No *Divine* Authority is proved.

2. The

2. The Popes Authority and the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* had the same foundation, as is evident to any knowing man in Councils and Church History: but the Authority of the Patriarchs is confessedly of humane Institution, and therefore *Jerusalem* and *Constantinople* were after added by men. The Council of *Nice*, of *Chalcedon*, &c. testify this. See *Comment. in Epist. Synodal. Basil.* p. 31. & 40. *Impress. Colen.* 1613.

3. The whole Greek Church from the first competition of *Constantinople* to this day hath taken the *Roman Primacy* to be of humane institution; which is infallibly proved because they set up that seat against it, which they all confess to have its dignity by humane institution. And no Christian can set up humane institution against that which he acknowledgeth Divine: Therefore by their competition they shew, that they never took *Rome* to have any other foundation, than *Constantinople*, which was humane: and so their Councils profess, and consequently all the Greek Church even in its Glory did believe that there was no such head over all the world; (for the Emperor had no such power) nor any of Divine institution over the Empire: nor did *John* of *Constantinople* when he claimed that universality which *Gregory* condemned, extend his claim any further than the Empire, or at least not to all the world. It is therefore most evident that *Rome* was in one Empire, but as *Canterbury* in this one Kingdom, the prime Patriarch in a National or Imperial Church, of mans appointment.

4. The Papists (even those that have Ruled in *England*) confess that [it is no point of faith, that it is of Divine Right, and not only of Humane, that the Bishop of *Rome* is *St. Peter* successor] So saith their Bishop of *Calced.* *Rich. Smith Survey* cap. 5. And their *Davenport* or *Frasac.* a *S. Clara syst. fid.* cap. 48. pag. 531. telleth us of *Erardus Billius* a Jesuite who 1644. publicly and confident-
T ly

ly taught that Rome may have two Popes at once dividing the Poppedom (as Peter and Paul are by Irenæus, Epiphanius and many Ancients there placed at once) and this in order to prove that the Papacy was *ex jure humano* of humane Right. And he himself saith, *ibid.* c. 47. p. 507. of the Question *An Papatus*, &c. *whether the Papacy which and as it resteth in the Roman Pope be of Divine Right*, [*Inter Doctores solennis est de re controversia est, alii huc, alii illuc, illibatâ fide feruntur*] that is [*Among the Doctors this is solemnly controverted; some go one way and some the other, without any blemish of faith* : mentioning as against the Divine Right, *Sotus* 4. d. 24. q. 2. a. 5. q. 2. *Corduba Quæstionario* li. 4. q. 1. prop. 8. dub. 1. and many other grave Doctors, &c. (of whom Cardin. *Cusanus de concord.* is one).

5. Indeed had they not first falsely described the Priestly or Pastoral power, they could never have persuaded men to receive an Universal Priest or Pastor : For the truth is, the office of the Ministry is like a Schoolmasters or like a Physicians, a work of personal attendance and skill, and it is essentially constituted of a threefold subordination to Christ the Head, *viz.* to his *Prophetical* office as *Teachers*, to his *Priestly* as *worshippers*, and to his *Kingly* as *Church Guides* or *Governors* : And to set up one to *teach all the world*, and to *worship with all the world*, and to call each sinner in the world by name to *Repentance*, and try his case and absolve or excommunicate him, would be no wiser, than to set up an universal Schoolmaster, Physician or Judge to all the world. But *demonstration* followeth *judicial desertion*, and precedeth the *Perdition* of the *deserted*. So much of the Papacy.

6. As for *General Councils* I have elsewhere proved at large, 1. That there never was such a thing in the world (unless the Apostles may be called such) : but that those
called

called *General Councils*, were but General Councils of *one Empire*, and now and then two or three neighbours, or such as were lately cut off from the Empire as aforesaid.

2. That a true General Council is morally impossible,

3. And so unlawful, as to be a pernicious form of Headship to the Church: because some Bishops must be many years coming, and will likely die before they come and return, and have not a language which the rest understand; nor can there be any equality of members, while those of *Mexico*, *Abassia*, *Armenia* and the *Antipodes* send but few, and the nearer parts a multitude; and so (as at *Trent*) it will be but an *Italian Council*: And it will be sinful to rob the Churches of them, and to cast away the lives of old weak worthy men in such Voyages and Travels of many years. And interposing enemies will not let them pass through their countries, with many such reasons. So that a General Council is a *non Ens*, and a name made for a *Papal cheat*. 3. And should it be the *constitutive head* of the whole Church, how little a while hath there been any Church on earth since Christ? For when a *constitutive essential part* ceaseth, the *essence ceaseth*; and so Christ hath had *no Church* on earth since the mockery of *Trent*; where in the beginning there were 42 Bishops with counterfeits and all, and 4 Arch-Bishops, if you will take the counterfeits *Wancop* of *Armagh* and *Olaus Magnus* for two; but indeed by the seventh Session there were 52 Bishops counterfeits and all, and in Session 8. 29 besides 6 Arch-Bishops, such as they were, whenas the Provincial Synods in *Africk* were wont to have many hundred Bishops; but how many thousand must a Synod of the whole world have in proportion to the *Italian* number at *Trent*?

7. God hath provided much better means than a Pope for the concord of Christians in the world (which is

the only considerable pretence for the Papacy) that is ,
 1. *One sacred word* to Rule them (which Papists themselves confess to be Divine) 2. *One Spirit within* to guide and actuate them, 3. *One Sacred Ministry* of the same *species* and Divine description in each assembly to instruct and guide them (even to Guide a *single Congregation*, which is a work more suitable to humane frailty than to Rule *Provinces* and the world). 4. One prescribed *sort* of *public worship* (in word, Prayer and Sacraments). 5. The same *end*, even *God and Heaven* for all to seek. 6. *Synods* and Consultations for *advice* and *concord*. 7. *Magistrates* to Rule them all by the sword (as they do Physicians, Schoolmasters, Philosophers) and to keep peace among them, and restrain intolerable abuses. And they that will have *more*, will have none ; but by *overdoing* will *undo* all, and be the greatest *dividers* and plagues to the Church on pretence of its Union and preservation.

8. *Every Church* must have its *proper Pastor* (one or more) who must know the people of their flock and be known by them.

9. But whether a Church shall have *One only* or *many*, is left to be determined according to the *number* and necessities of the people, and the store of *worthy men*.

10. The Essence of the Holy Ministerial office consisteth in *Oligation* and *Authority* to *call* the *unbelievers* and *impenitent* to *Faith* and *Repentance*, and to *Baptize* persons into the Church, and to *guide* the Churches by *Teaching*, *worship* and *Discipline*, as *under Christ* its *chief Prophet*, *Priest* and *King*. And though the exercise of each be not essential to the Office, the Power and general obligation is.

11. A *particular Church* (part of the *Universal*) is Individuated by the *same Pastors* and the *same People* *associated*

ted for *Personal holy Communion* (as distinct from *distante Communion by Letters or Delegates*).

12. Where one Church hath *many Pastors*, their *Pastoral Office* is the *same* : but how far any one either for his *age*, *grace* or *gifts*, or for *order* sake shall be submitted to by the rest, we think God hath left to be determined prudently, as the Churches edification shall require : but if any think otherwise, it shall not turn us from Love and Communion with them.

13. About Ruling Elders we are not all of a mind among our selves : some of us think that the Eldership or ministry is but *one* and the *same Office*, and that all of them should be *ordained* and have power of word, *Sacraments* and *Discipline* ; but that one in a Church (or two) being usually the ablest speakers, the rest *quoad exercitium* may be usually employed in private Vigilance and Discipline, and some assistance in other parts of worship, except when necessity calls them to Preach. Others think that Elders without power of word and Sacraments, is an Office of Divine Institution : but this maketh no division between us, because we force not each other to subscribe to the same opinions, but can unite in one practice upon different principles.

14. It is the Pastors office to hold Church Assemblies for the afore said worship: Especially on the Lords Days, which the spirit of God hath separated to such holy exercises.

15. Gods worship must be performed *rationaly, holily*, according to Gods word in all things there determined, and *decently, orderly, and to edification in all the undetermined circumstances.*

16. Whether Sermons and Prayers shall be by prepared Forms of words, or from the Habits of understanding and affection presently uttered ; whether read out of Notes or Books, or spoken without, is left to the prudent deter-

determination of the Pastor, whose Office it is to word his own conceptions, according to mens various qualifications: in which none should contemn or judge another, nor avoid the Communion of those that do not as they do.

17. We must not give Divine worship or Honour to any Creature.

18. When Pastors do usurp Power over one another to command all about them to speak to men from God or to God for men, in no other words but what the usurpers shall write them down, and so make Ministers but Cryers to read *their prescripts* or *Proclamations*, and also do prescribe to others the *necessary use* of *unnecessary things*, according to the *Usurpers will*, this is and hath been the *Grand Engine of Church Divisions*, by which the Churches have been torn in pieces for above a thousand years. And because every age doth bring forth men *Proud enough* to *usurp*, and few *wise enough* to learn by the Churches many hundred years experience, thereby the mischief proceedeth unremedied.

19. But if any find it best to use the *same words*, or *many Churches*, to avoid inconveniences, shall see cause to agree to use the *same words* in *Confessions*, in *Psalms*, in *Prayers* or *Sacraments* without *usurpation* over others, we are no opposers of such *agreements*. And if our *lawful Governours* do prescribe, *e.g.* *One translation of the Scripture* to be read, *One Version* of the *Psalms* to be *Sung*, we do obey: and if mistakingly they should take any part of the Pastors work out of his hands by their impositions, though we may not neglect our necessary duty, we shall behave our selves as true peaceableness and the honour of our Rulers with the Churches edification doth require.

20. The Office of the Sacred Ministry being *Instituted* by *Christ*, 1. from *Gods gifts* (of *nature* and *grace*) we have our *Dispositive Aptitude*, without which the *Person* is not *receptive* of the *Power*. 2. From the said word of *institution*, floweth our *power* and *obligation it self*. 3. From the *peoples* and *ordainers election* or *consent* is the *designation* of the *Individual person* that shall receive it, 4. to which also his *own consent* is a cause *sine quâ non*. 5. And the *Ministerial investiture* is by *Ordination*; 6. And *Liberty* and *defence* and *incouragement* are from the *Magistrate*; 7. And *Opportunity* is from *Gods Providence*, the *peoples* present willingness, and usually from the *Magistrates* leave. Thus do these severals severally concur to the Ministerial Office, and to its exercise respectively.

21. Two causes fill the Churches with bad Pastors: The one is when the Honours and Riches of the Office are so great as to be a strong bait to Pride and Covetousness (under the name of encouragements to Learning.) for then most certainly the most Proud and Covetous (that is the worst) will be the eagerest seekers, and most probably they that seek shall find. The other is when bad Rulers, Patrons or people are the choosers.

22. Wicked, Covetous, carnal, proud men admitted into Bishopricks and Ministry have been the woful plague of the Church, especially for thirteen hundred years.: For *bad men* will *so teach* and *so live*, that the *Best* of the flock will *most dislike them*, and then they will turn enemies to the *Best* for *disliking them*, and will *Preach against them* and make them as *odious* as they can: and this will rejoyce the prophane part of the flock which naturally hate holiness: and so the *wicked Pastor*; and *wicked People* will become a *Party* against the *Best*, and keep them under reproach and persecution: Whereupon the sufferers will be tempted not only to greater dislike, but to undue passions.

passions and separations; and if the Magistrates take part with the wicked party, they also will partake of the dislike; and so wicked Pastors are the floodgates of confusion, and happy are those Rulers that curb them, and help the Churches to faithful men.

It grieveth some of us to read so much undeniable truth in the foresaid Infidel's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, as the reason of the wicked lives of Christians, *Præfat. p. 4.* [“ *Hujus mali causam quærens, &c. Seeking the cause of this mischief, I doubted not but hence it sprang, that* “ *Vulgarly it was a piece of Religion to esteem the Ministeries of the Church as Dignities, and its Offices as Benefices, and* “ *to give the Pastors the highest honour: and as soon as this* “ *abuse crept in, presently all the worst men were invaded with* “ *a greater desire of sacred administrations, and the Love of* “ *propagating divine Religion, degenerated into sordid Avarice;* “ *and so the Temple it self into a Theatre, where were heard,* “ *not Church Teachers, but Orators; of whom none thirsted to* “ *teach the people, but to draw them into admiration of them-* “ *selves, and publickly to carp at dissenters, and to teach things* “ *new and unusual, and such as the vulgar most admire: whence* “ *great contentions, envy and hatred, which no antiquity* “ *could appease, must needs arise. No wonder therefore that* “ *of the old Religion nothing doth remain but the outward wor-* “ *ship (by which God is rather flattered than adored) and that* “ *faith is become nothing but credulity and prejudice, &c.*] As to the greatest part of the Churches, *pudet hæc opprobria nobis, &c.*

23. We fear this evil will never be cured, till Church Dignities and Riches be so far taken down that they may be no strong temptation to the Proud and Covetous, and so may not entail the Ministry for ever on the worst of men: but only by a competent stipend prevent the temptations of Poverty and worldly cares to those that seek the holy office

fice for holy ends: Left one part of the *Ministry* being Great and worldly, and the other through Poverty left bare and unlearned, both should subserve the enemy of souls.

24. No Bishops or Pastors have any *secular coactive Power* (unless the King make them *his Officers*): and therefore of themselves can Rule none but *Volunteers*.

25. Whether the Apostles or Evangelists have any successors in the ordinary work of taking care of many Churches, without being fixed to any one, and whether Magistrates may appoint any Pastors to be *General Visitors* of the Churches in their Dominions, are questions which we would not be too bold in determining, nor will we about them be troublers of the Church. But we believe that God hath not made such an inequality of Churches whether *Rome, Alexandria*, or any as Metropoles, as to make one Church a Governor of other neighbour Churches. And we wonder at them that know that Civil Rulers did set up the Patriarchs and Metropolitans in the Roman Empire, in conformity to their Civil Policy; and know that *this Empire is now dissolved*, and the reason of the thing (had it been lawful) ceased; and yet talk of forming General Councils by the five *Imperial Patriarchs*, and of subjecting themselves to the Pope as to one of the five.

26. Councils or Synods and that stated as to *time and place* are very useful among good Pastors, for concord, Counsel and correspondence: but the major part are not the Governors of the minor, nor of their absent brethren: nor are stated Synods absolutely necessary; nor convenient when, 1. they are degenerating into the Church Tyranny of a major Vote, 2. or are displeasing to Rulers and inconsistent with liberty or peace.

27. Therefore we take not a National Church to be a Body Politick of Divine Institution, either headed by one Bishop, or by a National Assembly, as a proper constitutive Governing part. But we hold that the King is the Governor of all the Churches in his Kingdoms, as far as they must be governed by the Sword: and that National Synods and others inferior to them are fit means for the said Council and concord among the several Pastors.

28. Whether one in each Synod shall be Moderator, and that *pro tempore* or *durante vita* as oft as there are Synods? and whether one shall be trusted to summon such Synods, and how he shall preside to preserve peace and order, are matters prudently to be determined, as the edification of the Church requireth, so that Church Tyranny be not introduced.

29. As Pastors of several Churches have not a Governing power over other Bishops and Pastors, but only by Synods are to give counsel and keep concord; so none of them in the world can excommunicate other Bishops or Pastors, as Governours of them: but only disclaim Communion with such publick Hereticks and Incendiaries as deserve it, and counsel others to do the like: but when they have done, they have done their part. But if moreover they will do as the Pope doth, and excommunicate people and Pastors of other Churches and countreys, and Kings themselves as if they were their Governors, and also stir up others to draw the Sword against them, and seek to force Kings to kill or banish or punish those that they have excommunicated, meerly as such, we take such to be professed Incendiaries in the world.

30. No proper part of the Pastoral Office, whether it be by Teaching, Administring Sacraments, or the power

er and use of the Ecclesiastical keys, belong to any Laymen, whether Chancellors or others.

31. All coactive Church Government belongeth to the King and Magistrates who are the Keepers of the Churches peace, and need not a Church-Office of Prelates to do their work, and take the honour of it to themselves.

32. The foresaid Usurpations of Proud Pastors over the Consciences of others, out of their own Churches, with their turning the ancient practical Christianity, into contentions for speculations and notions of their own, proceeding at last to a Tyranny over Kings and Magistrates themselves; yea even to impose Oaths on men to obey them, and never to reform them, or endeavour any alteration of these evils, hath been the corruption, confusion and calamity of the Christian world, which too many Princes of the world have endured, and some in blind devotion and some for selfish ends promoted.

33. The weakness of the people, even the zealous sort, sometimes taking up some little unjustifiable conceits and singularities, and sometimes too passionately renouncing bad Pastors, and sometimes falling into scandalous actions or shameful divisions among themselves, hath been the increase of the Papal Kingdom, and the great and prevailings pretence for Church Tyranny: And some otherwise sober men have been tempted to think that the peoples giddiness and unruliness is such, that there is no other way to peace.

34. And the very fountain and foundation of almost all this calamity hath been the forsaking of the *Primitive, necessary, sure and simple Test and Symbol of the Christian Profession and Terms of Church Union and Communion*;

and substituting a multitude of *unnecessary, uncertain, late Inventions*, which Proud men that think themselves the most Orthodox have introduced and imposed: And when we return to the *Primitive simplicity* and to *Vinc. Lerinensis* his [*Quæ semper, ubique & ab omnibus*] as conscious of the darkness of mans *understanding*, and *loving Holiness* more than *speculations* and *domination*, and *Loving* our *Brethren* as *our selves*, we shall then have blessed *Peace* and *concord*: And while we drive it away and will rather be at the greatest cost and danger to expel it by our *Inventions*, than entertain it on Gods cheap, sweet, easie terms, no wonder if we be without it; and if the harmless neighbours suffer, when a mad man sets his own house on fire. *But Blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the Children of God*, though now men call them, what *Pride*, *malignity*, or carnal worldly interest list.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the true and only termes of Church Concord in General ; and of the Causes of Schisme : and of Toleration.

1. **E**Very mans own welfare and peace is his own interest.

2. Therefore every man is for his own peace.

3. The Common peace of the State and of the universal Church, is the interest of all that intend not as Rebels and Hereticks to set up themselves against them both, or either of them.

4. Peace therefore hath the good word of almost all, because few dare own their *Rebellious* or Heretical inclinations.

5. Unity and peace are betrayed as Christ, with the *Judas* kiss of Covetous hirelings : And none do more to kill it, than some that have most cried it up.

6. As every Hypocrite will be very Religious, but only by subjecting the true Common Religion to his own interest and lusts ; so every enemy of Peace would have nothing else but Peace ; But it is only by making his *Own Peace* the rule of the *Common Peace*, and bringing all men to Center in his interests, and to take their Peace upon his terms, from him.

7. The greatest pretenders to unity and Peace in the world, have been the Roman Clergy ; and next them those of *Constantinople* : And none in the world have been greater

greater Church dividers, by making impossible Terms of unity and peace.

8. The chiefest impediments to unity and Peace in the world are, 1. A wicked selfish heart, and 2. Impossible Terms; and under both the Church still bleedeth.

9. As the Terms of Gods first sentence did put an everlasting enmity between the *Womans* and the *Serpents seed*, so it was shewed in the two first Brothers that ever were born into the world; who had the same Parents and education, and were of the same Religion, and yet the elder slew the younger for offering to God a more faithful and acceptable Sacrifice, and for a better manner of serving God in the same religion: Even because his own works were bad, and his brothers good. *Gen. 4. 4, 8. Heb. 11. 4. 1 Joh. 3. 12. Jud. 11.*

10. And it is not inconsiderable that Christ himself calleth the Devil the father of malignant enemies of the truth and of liars, and saith, they do *their fathers work*, *Joh. 8. 44.* And that, *1 Joh. 3. 8, 10.* it is said that he that *commits sin is of the Devil*; And that there the difference between the faithful and the wicked, is called, The difference between the Children of God and of the Devil: And that the Devil is said to lead Captive the adversaries of the truth, *2 Tim. 2. 26.* and to steal the word out of mens hearts, *Luk. 8. 12.* And that envious wisdom is called Devilish, *Jam. 3. 15.* And that the Devil is said to enter into Judas, *Joh. 13. 2.* Yea Christ saith, that he *was a Devil*, *Joh. 6. 70.* And finally the wicked must go into the everlasting fire which is prepared for the Devil and his Angels, *Mat. 25. 41.* All which sheweth that it is no wonder if such are partly meant by the *Serpents seed*.

11. And

11. And the Holy Ghost telleth us also from the instance of *Ishmael* and *Isaak*, that as he that was born of the flesh, did persecute him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now, *Gal. 4. 29.*

12. And the universal history and experience of all the world, from *Cain* till now, doth so fully confirm this truth, as tends much to confirm our belief of the prediction.

13. This enmity proceedeth from the Carnal vicious inclination and interest of wicked men, and the unchangeable enmity of the word and way of God to such inclinations and interest, and the devoted resolution of all true Christians, to stick to Christ and take his part, and to fight against the flesh, the world and the Devil to the death.

14. The Godly must not, dare not, will not forsake their master and rule, and come over for peace to the way of the ungodly; because it will be too dear a peace, that is bought with the loss of God and heaven.

15. The wicked *may* change and come over to the Godly (and must, or be undone for ever) The enmity therefore is long of them.

16. It is not meer Learning, or civility, or a pastoral office, or knowledge and utterance for the Ministerial work, which will remove this *enmity*, from a *Cainites* heart; but it must be done by the true sanctification of the spirit, *Joh. 3. 5, 6. Rom. 8. 6, 7, 8, 9.*

17. Abundance of particular occasions and differences may lye in sight, but underground this is the radical difference, which causeth most of the calamities of the Churches.

18. Especially if *Cainites* get into the Pastoral Chair, they have great advantage to fight against Christ in his own name, and scatter his flocks, and make Merchandize

dize of souls as by his own authority, and lay the blame of all on others; Till Christ shall come and gather his scattered ones and plead his own cause (which *Rome* is like to see with sorrow.)

19. Yet even among the best the *Principles* and *causes* of divisions are proportionable to the remnant of their sins; and the family of Christ hath ever been troubled with the peevish quarrellings of his children.

20. The best way then for universal peace, is to make all men *Holy*, and the *best more holy*: And then they will have all, one Center, one end, one Rule, one interest, one Nature, and one spirit and fervent Love to one another, as to themselves; with all the peaceable graces, humility, lowliness, meekness, patience, &c. But this is a way rather to be desired and hoped for in heaven, than hoped for among such a world of sinners here.

21. The next way therefore, that must do our work, if ever it be done, is while we are endeavouring to make men better, to find out and use the fittest terms of their peace and concord as they are. It is **JUST TERMS** that must heal the Church on earth; and which all the sons of peace must seek after.

22. These terms must be such as oppose not *Holiness*, but *subserve* it and promote it. The wisdom from above is *first pure*, then *peaceable*, &c. *Jam.* 3. 11. And *peace* and *holiness* must not be separated, *Heb.* 12. 14. Though if possible, as much as in us lieth, we must live peaceably with all men, *Rom.* 12. 18.

23. These terms must be such as take in all that Christ taketh in, and would have us take in: that is, All that are fit for Church Communion.

24. They should be such terms as all true Christians fit for such Church Communion if imposed would have united

united in, in all ages and places of the Church since the days of Christ till now. For those terms that would have divided the Church, are not the fit means to unite it.

25. And they should be such terms as the Church hath been at least in some age, if not in all, *united actually in*. For why should we think that the Church should *now* unite upon such terms, as it never united in before?

26. Christ himself who is the Center of the Churches Union, and the great Lawgiver, and Master of our faith, hath certainly in his Laws, prescribed to his Church, the *necessary* and *best* terms of *Universal concord* in particulars; and of the *Concord of particular Churches*, at least in *general Laws*. If he have left out the necessary terms of Union, what are his Laws for? how is he our Head? How shall his Church be one, and what shall cement and unite the members? sure this is none of the things indifferent.

27. The *terms* that Christ hath appointed for Church Union is the Baptifmal Covenant, *Matth.* 28. 19, 20. [Whoever believeth in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as his reconciled God and father, his saviour and sanctifier, and giveth up himself faithfully to him in Covenant accordingly, shall be saved and taken into heaven, if he so continues:] And whosoever doth this *Sacramentally*, by the open Vow and profession of baptism, was by Christs appointment to be taken into the Church. Therefore he *then* wanted nothing necessary to admittance and Church Communion.

28. Since the proud *Diotrephes's* on one side, as Lords of Gods heritage (1 *Pet.* 5. 3.) have violated this fundamental sacred rule; and self-conceited strictness and superstitious rigor hath violated it on the other hand (by calling for other kind of Titles, and discoveries of mens

sincerity, and by imposing new Laws (as various as mens strictnesses and opinions) on the Church, the Christian world hath had little concord, or quiet peace.

29. Because men must do what they do understandingly, in matters of such moment, the Churches in the Apostles times and by their consent, did explain these three Articles of the Baptismal Covenant to the baptized, and required an understanding profession of their *Belief* and *Consent* to it, as thus expained: which explication is now called the Apostles Creed; Because though the Churches might not tie themselves to every one of the same words as now they stand (as the *Formula's* in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian* and others. shew, and those collected by *Usher* and *Vossius*) yet as it cannot be imagined that they took the three words of the Covenant without any explication, so neither can it seem credible that they allowed any such variation of terms, as might hazard a variation or corruption of the sence: Besides what Church History telleth us. of the antiquity of the Creed.

30. As the Apostles in their times used no stricter or larger tests or terms of Church admittance, so neither did the Churches after them for a long time: But the Catechists expounded the Creed to the Catechumens, and used it as a sufficient test. Nay *Synesius* was made a Bishop before he well believed the article of the Resurrection.

31. Christ who made the Covenant of Baptism the test and standing terms of entrance, did yet set up Pastors over his Churches, to be the Guides of the flock, and preservers of its unity: not to make new and stricter terms and Laws; but to preserve concord on the terms that he had founded it; and to see that men lived in Unity and piety according to the terms of the Covenant which they had entered. This therefore is the Pastors work.

32. Though

32. Though the *Keys* be put into the Pastors hands, yet so is not the Legislation to make new terms of Christian Unity ; but to make such particular determinations of the circumstances of *order* and *decency* as are agreeable to Christs general Laws ; And when they have as *Ministers not Lords*, received men on Christs own terms, they are not to excommunicate and turn them out again, for want of more, but for violating these ; nor *arbitrarily* to rule the Churches, but to teach them all things that Christ commanded, *Matth.* 28. 20. And to cast out only the impenitent violators of his Covenant.

33. If therefore the Pastors shall contrary to the decree of the Holy Ghost by the Apostles, *Act.* 15. impose unnecessary things on the Church, not only under the obligation of duty, but as a necessary condition of Church communion ; they will tyrannize over Gods heritage, and usurp a power never given them, and contradict one end of Christs own Sacraments, and the ancient Creed.

34. The long and sad experience of all the Christian Churches, which have been divided by necessary humane impositions, and the voice of all wise peace-makers in all times (who have still called for [*Unity in things necessary, Liberty in things unnecessary, and Charity in both*]) do leave those that yet will not be perswaded to these terms, as unexcuseable persons, as almost any in all the world ; worse than Physicians that would use all those things as the only remedies, which have killed all that ever used them for 1500 years.

35. A Pastor should love his own flock as well as the people of a forreign land : Therefore they that confess that for the communion of all the Churches, there are no terms like these which we now mention, should not be more cruel to their own at home, nor turn them out of their

fathers house for every ceremonial difference, nor make them any work. which should prove their snare.

36. Yet we know that every Pastor is to guide his own Church in needful circumstances, as the *time* and *place* of worship, the method, the versions, the tunes, the utensils and other things formentioned: And no Christian should be peevishly froward, and disobedient against such determinations. But as none that are *needless* should be imposed (for the determination one way or other must be necessary, though this or that way be not comparatively necessary), so they are not to be made more *necessary* by mens wills than they are in their use; At least not made the matter of excommunication. But if the Pastor necessarily appoint one *time*, one *place*, one *tune*, one translation, &c. and any of the people therefore fly away and causlessly a void the Church, it is they then that cast out themselves by departing: But if he needlessly say, You shall *say this*, or *subscribe that*, or *conform to many needless burdens*, or else *have no communion here*, the act of exclusion then is his.

37. True Love would end our greatest difference: Let men Love their neighbours without dissembling as themselves, and do but as they would be done by, and we will not fear them.

38. Yea if many of the children of the Church were injudiciously scrupulous, when fear of sin and hell was the cause, a tender Pastor would abate them a Ceremony in such a case, when his abating it hath no such danger.

39. Unmerciful Pastors cause the people to question whether they be sent of God, because they are made the fathers of the flock to rule them only by *Light* and *Love*; and have no power of the sword: And their rod it self and excommunication, is only by application of Christs law. And what they cannot do by *Reason*, *Scripture* and

and Love, they cannot do at all as Pastors : *Hurt* they may do otherwise, but *no good*. And the people judge of Pastors as *Solomon* of the true mother of the child ; that the *merciful and Loving* is the *true Pastor*, and the *hurtful* is the *usurper*.

40. And the main Controversie that troubleth the Christian Churches is but, when the nurses offer such morsels to the children which they cannot swallow, whether the bits shall be cut less (which will hurt no body) or the childrens throats shall be cut wider.

41. We are so far from thinking that Pastors should not guide the people by Love and by their *own consent*, and from thinking with Doctor *Heylin*, (speaking of Arch-Bishop *Abbot* in the Life of Arch-Bishop *Laud*) that it's *doubtful whether the Church have a greater plague than a popular Prelate*], that on the contrary we think that all Pastoral power and Government is only instructive, Perswasive and Directive, or *such precept as worketh only upon the Conscientious and Consenters*, and can work on no man any further than he *consenteth*, or as it *operateth on his judgement, will or affection*. For they have no instrument but Gods word to govern by. Yet are they (as a father) *Perswaders Authorized* and in *Office*, and not only such as *perswade* men merely out of *Charity* and *occasionally* as private men.

42. The Universal Church hath long had *Unity* upon the terms of *Baptism* and the *Creed* and *Scriptures*, without any other *subscriptions*, *Oaths* or other *Professions* made necessary to communion. But it never had *Union* upon such additional terms, of new *professions*, *subscriptions* and *Oaths*, as most Churches now impose and require. When they departed from the ancient *simplicity*, and the primitive *terms*, they departed from *Unity* and concord, and so continue divided to this day.

43. As

43. As for the indifferent *modes and circumstances* of worship, some most of the Churches voluntarily agreed in; some they differed in; some the particular Bishops made to be the *Order* of their own particular Churches, (which were for 200 or 300 years no more populous than our Parishes), and this not against the peoples will; But none of them were imposed by any Bishops upon other Churches, nor made necessary to Communion against the wills and consciences of the Presbyters and people, nor Ministers silenced nor people excommunicated for refusing them; But they were used as things Indifferent with mutual charity, till the *decay* of *Charity* and the entrance of *Pride* and *Church Tyranny* turned *things indifferent* into those engines of *divisions*, which have wracked, and dismembred and torn in pieces the Churches through the world unto this day.

44. A diversity of such circumstances and indifferent modes in divers Churches or Parishes, and sometimes in the same Church, is no such dreadful mischief as some frightful Pastors would make themselves or others believe: much less to be compared with the consequents of unnecessary impositions. What harm is it if one Parish or Pastor use one Liturgick form or ceremony, and another use another, (so that neither of them be evil) any more than that now one Minister in the Pulpit useth one prayer, one Sermon, one method, and another useth another: Our Cathedrals and our Parish Churches have great difference of such modes, without any such mischiefs: And now one Parish Minister prayeth in the Pulpit, and another only *biddeth Prayer* (and pleadeth for it as the principal way): And one that prayeth in the Pulpit useth his own words, and another doth it in the words of the Liturgy: One useth a form (the same ordinarily) and another varieth according to the matter of his Sermon and

and the occasion : One Minister preacheth Arminianism , (in the points of free-will , effectual grace predestination , Redemption , and perseverance) ; And another preacheth zealously against it , as a dangerous sort of error : One is for the morality of the fourth commandment , and another against it . One thinketh that the Lords day is of Ecclesiastical institution (and perhaps mutable) and another that it is of Divine institution . Bishop *Taylor* writeth against Original sin , and Bishop *Warner* , for it . Doctor *Gunning* writeth for the Religious observation of *Lent* , and Doctor *More* for the Civil only . One sitteth at the singing of a Psalm , and another standeth and another kneeleth (and so at Sermon) : One boweth only at the name of Jesus ; another boweth also at the name [Christ] and [God] &c . One standeth up at the *Reading* of the *Psalms* , and not at the singing of the same Psalms ; another sitteth at both , and a third standeth up at both : One thinketh Episcopacy to be of Divine institution ; and another thinketh that it is but of humane , and God hath instituted no form of Church Government (as Doctor *Stillingfleet* , Bishop *Reignolds* and others think) . The Canons of 1640 . which set up Altars and Rails , and bowing towards the Altar , leave it indifferent , advising dissenters not to despise or censure one another : One receiveth the Lord supper (the elements) kneeling , and then standeth or sitteth to eat or drink it (supposing that the obligation to *receive* it kneeling , extendeth not to the *eating* or *drinking* of it kneeling) : Another doth both receive and eat and drink it kneeling . One useth the names of *Altar* , *Sacrifice* , *Priest* , &c . and another is afraid lest they will introduce the Mass . One that *Declareth his assent and consent to all things contained in and prescribed by three books* , doth tell us , that he meaneth only that it is lawful to use so much of them as concerneth himself :

himself to use, and indeed no further to assent or consent to the *things* or *words*: Another meaneth plainly as he speaketh. One that taketh the *Oxford Oath* or that subscribeth not to *resist any Commissioned by the King, &c.* meaneth it only of a *Lawful Commission*, and saith, No other is a Commission: Another meaneth it of *any Commission*. One that sweareth or subscribeth *never to endeavour any alteration of Church Government* meaneth, by *Alteration* properly *qualitative* Alteration; Another meaneth only a change of Episcopacy *in genere* into another kind: One by *Government* meaneth the *external* Government of the Church as it is in the King, according to the Oath of supremacy (which none of us scruple). Another meaneth the spiritual *Internal* Government by the Keys, that is, the Authoritative management of Gods words. One by [*endeavour*] meaneth only [*unlawful endeavour*] Another meaneth as universally as he speaketh Any kind of endeavour, *in his place and calling, or out of it*. And as to practice we come not into two Churches of ten, where just all the same prayers and parts of the Liturgy are daily read; but one readeth more, and another less; one this part and another that: Nay I have my self communicated in a conformable Parish Church in *London*, where one half kneel at the receiving of the Sacrament, and the other sit; And all this without any violation of Love or concord; without any grudging or mischievous effects: so that experience shameth the dreaming fears of imposing men.

And in Doctrines Doctor *Herlin* tells you in the end of his Preface to the Life of *A. B. Laud*, what liberty of judgement the Church hath left, for how good reasons.

45. One of the greatest dividers and troubles of the Church through the world is the Lordly, proud, impatient spirit

Spirit of the Pastors ; who when they should be as Nurses to the children of God, and should bear with their cryings and frowardness and foulness while they are breeding them up to a more mature and solid and peaceable temper, do treat with infants as with equals, and saute at all the quarrels and complaints which they undergo, and look that before and without their education, they all be as wise and staied as themselves, and are ready to bring their action at Law against every child that cryeth or complaineth, and to turn them out of the family of God : And are so quite contrary to that tender and gracious spirit and example of Christ, that when they themselves should be as little children, and the servants of all, they are so proud and Lordly, that they cannot bear any contradiction, dissent or disobedience to their Laws and dictates ; But set up a cry, as if the Church were all on a fire, and the enemy were at the gates, and all were undone, as soon as their imperious and imposing wills are neglected in a ceremony or an indifferent thing. God give his children tender Nurses.

46. I my self have found by experience, that Christians may be kept in Unity and peace, without any heresies, factions or divisions, by means of Scripture, Reason and Love, by their own consent, without compulsion.

47. many of us have found, that in case of the peevish self-conceitedness of any of our people, that fall into heretical dispositions, noise and violence are the bellows of their zeal, and the chief increasers of their folly and fury : And *neglect* extinguisheth it : so be it that they be but solidly confuted to the more judicious, and the rest kept in Unity and peace ; The very neighbourhood of the Orthodox that are unanimous and concordant, doth quickly drain the heretical conventicles, and make the erroneous ashamed of themselves, and a weary of their impetuosity.

48. They that can bear with such in their constant congregations and Communion, who understand not the essentials of Christianity, or whose understanding they are utterly unacquainted with ; and also with drunkards, tiplers, swearers, cursers, railers, prayerless families, fornicators, gluttons, sensual riotous persons, &c. and yet will rather cast Kingdoms into confusion than they will bear with an honest godly Christian, that differeth from their way of worship in no greater matter than a Ceremony, have something more amiss within than a Ceremony.

49. We suppose that *errors* and *faults* of subjects must be distinguished of by Magistrates and Pastors ; some are *Tolerable*, and those must be *Tolerated* : some are *intolerable*, and must not be *tolerated* : we are not therefore for an universal unlimited toleration. And we think that those, who cry out [*One and All, why not one as well as another*] have much themselves of *design* or *necessity* to be tolerated, or else very little of understanding : And they may as well say, [If an idle talker may be endured in the Commonwealth, why not a Traytor ? If there be no Law against Lying, why should there be any against murder or Rebellion ? If a foot must be cut off for a Gangren, why not for a Corn ?] Wo to the world when it is ruled by such wits.

50. Nay we suppose that no fault even in publick matters of Religion is therefore to be left incorrigible, because the Magistrate wanteth *power* to meddle with it (though *Heart-sins* and *unproved sins* are out of his cognifance) : we doubt not but the Magistrate may punish *evil doers* where God or nature make no exception, or disable him not, *Rom. 13. 4, 5, 6.* He must take more care of *Gods* interest than his own ; and of our *souls* than of our *bodies*, and of *Religion* than of *Commerce* : But the questi-

question is only what he *can* do effectually and what not : and what means *prudence* requireth him to use.

51. We would not have the Magistrate forbear to *cure* the *smallest* fault or error, of what kind soever which he can really cure : But what he *cannot* cure *must* be *tolerated* : He *cannot* make his Subjects *perfect*. And we would not have him *kill* under pretence of *curing*, nor set the house on fire to kill the rats and mice, nor cure a low-fie headed child by cutting off his head, nor cure his crying by cutting his throat ; Nor to *divide* and *destroy* the Church by *ordering* it, nor for a needless subscription or a ceremony, to forbid the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, when it is necessary to the saving of souls.

52. He that knoweth not himself to be a *man* and a *sinner*, is not fit to be a *Pastor* : And he that doth, and is penitently conscious, what abundance of greater sins he hath than the Conscientious forbearance of a Ceremony or needless Oath or subscription, will be very tender in his usage of others.

53. A *fear of sinning* is necessary in all that will be obedient to God, and will be *saved* : It is that fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom : It is therefore to be loved and cherished, even when scrupulousness mistaketh the *matter* ; And not to be reproached, discouraged, or persecuted out of the world.

54. By a *tender Conscience* we mean the same that God in his promise doth by a *heart of flesh* in opposition to a *stony heart* : We suppose Holiness to consist in the sanctity of the three natural faculties, *Active power, understanding and will* ; and to consist in *Life, Light and Love* ; As a state of unholiness consisteth in *Deadness, Darkness, and Disaffection*. It is therefore a *Conscience* that hath *Spiritual life and feeling* that we mean, and that perceiveth more the evil of the *least* sin, than a fornicator or

a drunkard, or a proud oppressor doth perceive the *greatest*. Therefore as for them that take a *tender Conscience* to be ~~but~~ a tender (that is, a soft or foolish) head, we envy them not the honour of a *fear'd Conscience*, or a *hardned heart*, that is *pist feeling*, Eph. 4. 19.

55. The imposing of unnecessary *subscriptions, professions* or *Oaths*, is the way to fill the Church with men that are not troubled with tender Consciences, and that have no fear of God or sin: For if there be a thousand Atheists, *Infidels* or impious debauched persons, that either *believe* not, or regard not the life to come, and make no Conscience of any sin at all, what should hinder all or any of these, from *saying, subscribing* or *swearing* any thing, that their profit or honour or ease or safety doth require? And seeing undoubtedly *it is so*, *Quere*, whether he that believeth that ever he shall be judged by the great Pastor of the flock, should not be as much at least afraid, of letting in such Presbyters as these into the Churches of his Diocese, as of enduring holy faithful men, that fear a *lie* or *Oath* or *superstition*.

56. All are for Toleration (usually) that need it: And so would they be that now deny it.

57. He that knoweth the *frailties* of all *mankind* and the *weakness* of most *Christians* yea and *Ministers*, doth know that all *mankind*, all *Christians*, and all *Prelates* and *Pastors* have great need of some (yea of *much*) *toleration*, not to *cherish* their sin, but to endure the smell and trouble of their *Ulcers*, till they can be cured. And as *Seneca* thinketh that he speaketh against *mankind*, that reproacheth a man with faults that are *common to mankind*, so we do more soundly judge, that he that maketh a Canon to silence or excommunicate or cast out men, for a *fault* common to all *preachers, Christians* and *men*, doth make a Canon to silence or cast out all *Preachers, Pastors* or *men*.

58. If

58. If we deserve to be cast out of Church and Kingdom, in this case of nonconformity to the present Impositions, it is because we are either *weak* or *Ignorant* or *wicked* (for nature hath no other fault.) And on condition that the Diocesans will effectually provide, that none *more weak, more ignorant, or more wicked* shall be tolerated in Church and Kingdom when we are gone, and no detriment befall his Majesties dominions by the diminution of his Subjects, we here profess to the world, our joyful consent to be silenced and banished. And I am so far from speaking this in overvaluing of my self, that I profess that it is my brethren that I now intend : (Though he is a fool that taketh himself to be no wiser than a stark fool ; And it's like they that deride our self-abasing confessions, will not expect that we should belie ourselves, or equal the up right with the hypocrite). And I tell posterity, if this age will not hear, that though I am accounted one of the greatest bewailers and reprovers of the sins of the Nonconformists, Ministers and people, and no flatterer of either of them, that I do verily believe [*that under all the Heavens of God, there is no one party, of Ministers and people, more able, holy, wise and faithful, than those that are now silenced and reproached as Puritans in his Majesties Dominions ; And that they are the glory of the Churches, and of the King and his Kingdoms ; and such as no other Prince in all the world is equally blest with.*] Let malice and ignorance and interest say its worst, I have nothing that I know of to make me partial to the n, but have born as many contradictions from them as most men living ; yet this is my unfeigned testimony upon my long acquaintance with them, which I leave to posterity as a dying man.

59. Yea moreover, If the Diocesans will but (not talk but really) fill up the vacancies in the Kings Dominions with persons who for *Quality, diligence and numbers*, may sufficiently

ficiently supply the peoples wants, so that in the eye of any knowing experienced person, that careth for souls, and believeth the Gospel, our Ministry shall not be *palpably* and *notoriously needful*, to the instructing, edifying and saving of many thousand (or hundred thousand) souls, we do solemnly as before God and man profess, that we will not only cease our Ministration, but quietly live in private communion with the Churches, and take it for the joyfullest day, that ever did shine upon us since we were born. But alas, what frivolous talk is this!

60. Though we ought not to be void of compassion to those faithful and pious Ministers, and private Christians, who have suffered long imprisonments; nor of their case who want their daily bread, for themselves and families, who might have lived as plentifully as their neighbours, if they had not been consecrated to the sacred Ministry, but betaken themselves to a secular life; yet so small a matter is the hunger, or imprisonment of Ministers, in comparison of the miseries of the souls of men, that for my part I would never mention it, nor meddle in an apology or such displeasing writings for them, if their own greatest corporal sufferings were the worst; and the punishing the souls of the ignorant and ungodly, called not louder for pity and relief.

61. And those of us that (through Gods mercy) want not necessities, find small temptation from the *world* and *flesh*, to desire ever to exercise our Ministry more. For my own part, if I had not other ways had more than ever I received any way for my ministerial work & office, I must have lived in it (to others, though not to my self) at far lower rates than I did: And we are few of us such dullards I think, but by Law, Physick, trading or other secular means, we might live in more plenty and less obloquy than we do. When I gave men Medicines for their bodies, they

they thank me for it, and none rose up against me for it with displeasure, as many have done for ministerial fidelity: we have flesh and blood as well as others, and know what belongeth to our ease and fleshly interest: How glad would our *fleshly part* be to be eased of this unthankful work, which brings the revilings and threats of men (and more) about our ears? He that hath such list to talk, that he is contented to suffer all this, that he may but hear himself speak, or be heard and applauded by such as do applaud us, verily he hath a poor reward, and I account him worthy of all his sufferings.

62. They that by thrusting out the *Orthodox* and *sober* Ministers and private Christians *equally* with the *heretical* and *intolerable*, will tell them when they desire to be restored, that it's *they* that would bring in an *Universal Toleration* of all the *intolerable*, do play so naked a game, that it's easily understood, though it must be silently and patiently endured: And if the *Diocesans* cannot tolerate our *Preaching*, we will quietly tolerate their *Per* —

63. We thought that Bishop *Taylor* went *too far* in his Book for Liberty of *Propheying*, but *tempora mutantur*, and Conformists can change: we think it fit that the Magistrate go further in *Restraining* than in *Constraining*: And that he should hinder hereticks and blasphemers from reproaching the truth, and seducing souls; Yea hinder any sin in the world; as far as he can do it without greater hurt than the *good* will compensate: And as the Church must not suffer the *doctrine of the Nicolaitans* which *Christ* hateth, nor the woman *Jesabel* to teach and seduce the people to filthiness, Idolatry, &c. and as Pastors must *stop such mouths* with sacred argument, and shame them by the convincing light of truth; so *Magistrates* in their places must hinder them so far, as that by pulling up the Tares, they be sure that they pull not up the wheat also.

64. Leav-

64. Leaving the Civil peace to the care of Magistrates, we must say of *Church Unity and peace*, that it will hardly long be kept up by *bad Pastors*; (till they can make the people bad enough to be *willing* of them, *Isa.* 5. last) And then it is a conspiracy against Christ, and not true peace.

65. For *Good people* will never be well contented with *bad Ministers*, nor *bad Ministers* ever well like or comply with the desires and ways of *pious people*.

66. Great Temptations cause *bad interests*, and *bad interests* make *bad Ministers* worse.

67. Great Preferments, power, wealth and fulness are Great Temptations.

68. They that *Love these best*, are the *worst men*, and unfittest for the Ministry, as having least the Love of God and holiness and heaven and souls. 1 *John* 2. 15, 16. *Phyl.* 3. 18.

69. They that *Love these best*, are likeliest to get them because they will use all their wit and industry to get them: And he that *seeketh is likeliest* to find.

70. Therefore whilst the Ministry is in a state of great worldly wealth and honour and power and fulness, and so of Temptation, the worst men are likeliest to be the Pastors of the Church, except where Princes of *rare piety* do prevent it.

71. Such *Carnal minds* are *enmity to God*, and neither are nor can be subject to his Law, because they favour not the things of the spirit, but of the flesh: *Rom.* 8. 6, 7, 8. And how Christ's *enemies* are like to guide his flock, and preserve the *purity* or *Unity* of them, I leave to all to judge.

72. They wrong us that say, we would reduce the Church to the *primitive persecution* and *poverty*, when we call them to the *Primitive terms of Unity* (Though we should be glad that our *worst corrupting prosperity* were changed

changed into their holy suffering and poverty, rather than go on to be the Churches ruin) we bless God that we live under a Christian Protestant King, and we commend our Rulers pious zeal, for the saving of the Clergy from poverty and contempt; And we are of their mind that think that *excellent Godly painful Pastors* or Bishops may do much good with a great deal of wealth and power: But we doubt that they talk but by the book, or of some rare wonders, and never think how such excellent persons are ever like to have those advantages, nor what hurt others will do with them. He that said, *If the Pope were a good man, what a deal of good might he do, to all the Christian world*; did never live to see that good done.

73. The Apostles and first Churches were as wise as our Diocesans or any now, to know the fittest terms of Church concord, toleration and Communion.

74. If *Act 15.* it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and such a Council of Apostles, to lay nothing but a few *Necessary things* on the Churches, lest they should *burden* them: we suppose that determination of the Holy Ghost and the Apostles is obligatory to all Rulers and Churches upon earth, even to this day: And all that think not themselves *wiser*, should confess that at least it is safe to follow it.

75. The Apostle having so clearly and fully decided the case before us, in *Rom. 14.* & *15.* against either *censuring* or *despising* one another for things indifferent, we cannot wonder that they, who will neither *understand* nor *stand to* this decision, will neither *understand* nor be satisfied with our most cogent arguments.

76. They that say that the Apostle doth not speak there of *things indifferent* after they are imposed by authority, say very true; Because he there taketh away that very subject, and preventeth all such cases, while he deter-

mineth that *such things should not be so imposed*, but so far left free, that none may be *rejected* out of Church Communion for them, nor any *censured* or *despised* for them.

77. They that say the Apostle doth not *forbid* such *Impositions* there, cannot see day for light.

1. If he forbid *censuring*, *despising* and *not receiving* one another, and *command dissenters to receive one another*, then he forbiddeth such imposition as is inconsistent herewith. But the antecedent is plain in the text, *Ergo*. —

2. If he direct this command to all the Church of *Rome*, even the Authorized Pastors as well as the people, then he extendeth it to the *Authorized Rulers* of the Church. But the Antecedent is evident in the first and last Chapters of the Epistle — *Ergo*. —

3. If he himself being a Pastor or Ruler of that Church, as fully authorized as any that should succeed, do declare his resolution even on moral reasons, to use that Church with the described toleration himself, then he thereby declareth that he would have other Rulers to do the like. But the antecedent is undeniable. *Ergo* so is the consequent.

4. If this Scripture (as others) be written for a standing Rule, for future ages as well as for that in which *Paul* lived, then it is obligatory to future Rulers — But — *Ergo* —.

78. They that say it speaketh not of rejecting from and receiving to *Church Communion*, neither directly nor consequentially, do deny to understand or believe plain words, and are contradicted not only by their own Annotator *Dr. Hammond*, but by so many more Expositors as should make them more modest in their conceits.

79. Yet we our selves confess (which many late Expositors note) that this doth not decide the case of the *peoples Church Communion* when Authority shall impose in-
different

different things, nor doth it allow any private Christian to *take liberty* to use or not to use them, when Authority *taketh away* that liberty: For though the Apostle doth both forbid such impositions to the Rulers, as shall take away the liberty there expressed, and doth also forbid all private Christians, to *censure, despise*, or to deny to *receive* each other on any such accounts; yet if the Rulers *shall break* this Law of the spirit of God, and shall make such imposition of things indifferent as are here forbidden them, 1. Subjects must obey them, and take them as no longer *indifferent to them*, but a necessary duty, because their governours have taken away their liberty; 2. And if the Pastors unjustly cast out men on such small accounts, from the publick Communion of the Church, it is not in the power of the people to restore them, as being not intrusted with the Keys of Government.

Object. But how can any man take away the liberty that God hath given us?

Answ. Though he cannot do it *without sin*, he may do it so far as that *you shall be obliged to obedience*: A judge cannot against right adjudge any part of your possessions to another, *without sin*: But if he *do it*, though *sinfully*, you must not break order, nor reassume your own.

And it is to be noted that your Gift of Liberty is the consequent of the Rulers duty, who is here required to use you with this tenderness: And if he *performeth not* that duty, there wanteth the hand that should reach out this gift unto you, so that you had a distant *jus ad rem*, but no *jus in re*.

Obj. But is not a Rulers act null, which is done against the command of God: and consequently without authority?

Answ. He hath a General Authority in his Office it self to Rule you; though this text forbid him this particular act: And his sinning against this one command of

God; doth not nullifie the authority of his office: And as a subject you are bound to obey him in all lawful things, belonging to his general office: So that if it be *lawful for you antecedently*, it is *your duty consequently* to obey, though he sin in commanding: And every mistake of a Ruler will not disoblige the Subject from obeying.

But remember that all this is spoken only of things indifferent, and not of things forbidden by God.

80. The present full conformity now required will never be the terms of the full desirable unity and concord of the Christian Protestants in his Majesties dominion: They are *Impossible means* of such an end, and therefore will make such a Unity and concord to be *impossible*, Proved.

If it be both impossible to bring all good Christians judgements to hold all this conformity to be lawful, and impossible to bring them all to conform to that which they judge unlawful; Then is it impossible to agree or unite them on these terms ——— But the antecedent is true ——— Ergo so is the consequent.

Remember that by *Impossible*, we mean not that which God cannot do, to whose omnipotency all things are possible; But that which is *Morally impossible*, and never to be done, or expected by man.

1. That it is *Morally impossible* so far to alter their judgements, is evident, 1. In the *numbers* that must be changed, 2. In the *natural operation* of the intellect, which is not *free*, nor subject to the Laws or the will of man, nor fully or directly to the will of the person himself; but receiveth things as they are represented by evidence, necessarily & *per modum naturæ*, further than as the will in part overruleth the Cogitations. 3. In the great variety of natural temperatures, and degrees of docibility and apprehensiveness and ingenuity. 4. In the great diversity

diversity of Parents minds and their education of their children. 5. In the different converse of persons, with men that have several judgements, and all of them advantage to instill their principles into others. 6. In the marvellous variety of circumstances that men stand in, and consequently the diversity of light, representations and appearances of things, as men and their affairs and interests stand in different postures. 7. In the difficulty of the controversies which must be so generally decided: were they not difficult, so many, so wise, so learned, so godly and impartial men would not have disagreed so long about them. 8. In the reverence which they have received and will retain, of the worth and judgements of such persons as *Amesius, Hildersham, &c. Calvin, Beza* and multitudes more that have gone before them, whose honour no power on earth is able to destroy. 9. In the paucity, and distance of those conformable Ministers from most of the people, who must change their judgements; And the unaptness of most of them for such a work; especially when they come to plead against such as *Blondel, Salmasius, Chamier, &c.* 10. In the marvellous suspicion and scrupulousness that most tender conscientious Christians have against seeming additions, detractions and corruptions of Gods instituted worship: And their fear of sinning in what they do, especially deliberately. 11. From the frightfulness and horridness of the evil which they fear in conformity; which is no less than deliberate lying and perjury, yea the justifying of perjury in thousands, and the publick renouncing their duty of endeavouring reformation, and many other grievous sins. I am not saying, that all these or any of them are such as they fear them to be (that is to be spoken to by it self) but only that they fear them to be such. And men will never be all bold among such dangers as these seem.

seem. 12. From the nature of *mans* understanding, and of God *Grace*, and of his *promise*, which will never *suffer* all his children to agree in such things as we think some of these in controversy to be. 13. And expereince of the *continuance* of these differences sheweth, what may be expected for the time to come. One that hath not commenced Doctor of Divinity, nor is *eminent* for *Reason*, may easily know, 1. that *All* the Kings Subjects in three Kingdoms and *America*, are not like to attain to more Learning, wisdom or honesty for the just decision of such controversies, than Doctor *Ames*, Doctor *Reignolds*, Doctor *Humphrey*, &c. or than at present Doctor *Tuckney*, Doctor *Seaman*, and many other such men have. 2. And (unless they prove much wiser and more learned than they have done of late) it is almost as easie to prognosticate, that conformity will not be better justified by them that must change the judgements of so many, than it hath been already by *Downname*, *Morton*, *Burges*, *Covel*, *Bridge*, *Bilson*, *Hooker*, and the most judicious Doctor *Field*: Much less that our Diocesans are like to exceed them so exceeding far in ability and success, as the maintaining of the *present* conformity exceedeth in difficulty the maintaining of the old. (For I do verily think that if Doctor *Burges*, Doctor *Field*, Bishop *Downname*, &c. were now alive, they would all be Nonconformists; And their *own writings* put us past doubt, that *Hooker* and *Bilson* would be Nonconformists, unless they would forsake their published judgement: yea and more than Nonconformists.)

2. And now I come to the second branch of my Antecedent; As it is not *morally* possible, for to change the judgements of so many in this point, and to keep them in that mind from age to age; so it is as impossible to bring *them all to conform* against *their judgements* by any force that can be offered. I need not prove this to any that believeth

eth that there is a God and a life to come, and believeth that any others do believe it : And those that believe neither of these, should be no Bishops if I could help it. 1. From the *Nature of faith and holiness* : Every one that unfeignedly believeth that there is a God and a life to come (with a true practical belief) will rather die than deliberately and continuedly do that which he believeth doth displease God, and forfeit everlasting happiness. 2. Gods *promise* is to strengthen his servants against such wilful impenitent sinning, and to keep them by his power through faith unto salvation : If Christ should suffer all his members to be deliberately and impenitently guilty of that, which they verily think is aggravated Perjury, Ministerial Lying, renouncing reformation, justifying the sins of thousands, &c. then should the gates of hell prevail, and his Church be no Church (because not holy), and consequently Christ be no Head of a true Church, that is, no Christ. He that hath commanded ; *Fear not them that can kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do ; but fear him, &c. Luke 12. 4.* will give grace to his servants to obey his commands ; for he hath promised to write his Laws in their hearts, &c. 3. And the Martyrdom undergone in so many ages doth assure us, that men will rather *die*, than deliberately do that which they judge to be so great a sin. 4. And the sufferings of *these times* do tell you what men will *further* undergo, if you follow it on to the utmost : Some have died in prison already ; And some have died of the diseases there taken ; And many families live in very great necessities, that in the days of Usurpation had food and raiment. Lately I saw a credible letter craving relief for a godly Minister in *Kent*, who (when his infirmities lately contracted will permit him) doth spin at the wheel to get some bread for his family : And many others have suffered.

ferred more. It is therefore evident that *Violence* will never make them forsake that which they judge of so great truth and necessity to their own and other mens Salvation.

81. He that thinketh that *all other men* will do that which they think is sin against God, and will damn their souls, to escape any penalties of humane Laws, doth thereby tell the world, either that he thinketh himself more honest than all such others, or else that he would do the same himself, which he expecteth from them, if it were his own case; And so, that he would sell his soul to save his flesh. A Bishop therefore should especially be against such violence lest he disgrace himself, and tell the world what he is, and what he would do, by telling them what he thinks others will do.

82. My own acquaintance in *England* perswadeth me confidently to believe, that (however very many would venture their souls to save their bodies, yet) if the Bishops could get Laws to hang all Nonconformists, or burn them as the Protestants in *Queen Marys* days, there would many hundred Ministers, and many thousand of private Christians, rather be burnt than do the things now questioned against their Consciences.

83. He that *trusteth* to *punishments* to procure *Church concord*, must in reason look to the end of such punishments, and not delude himself and his superiors, by thinking that they will do what he would have them do. When *lesser punishments* are tryed, either he will proceed to *greater*, or *not*. If *not*, he hath but confirmed those whom he thought to change, and made the matter worse than before: If *yea*; then he must resolve *how far* to go. If he come short of *banishment* or *death*, the persons are still left alive, uncured and more stiffned. If he would have our Rulers proceed to *banishment* or *death*, either it must be of *some*, or of *all* Nonconformists. If but
of

of *some*, the rest will survive to be a differing party, and will increase their company by the advantage of their brethrens sufferings. Would any man have thought that when Queen *Marys* flames had consumed so many, the remnant should change Religion so soon? Or when the French Massacre had murdered forty thousand (as *D'Avila* computeth, or thirty thousand as credible *Thuanus*) that the remnant (even when the Leaders were cut off) should be thereby so increased, exasperated and strengthened, as to do that which was shortly after done, till their Head was King? Or when the Irish had so quickly murdered two hundred thousand, that the survivors should so quickly use them more severely than ever they had been used before?

But if you would have *All cut off* or banished, 1. It will be a greater loss to the King and to the Conformists left behind, than ten more Oaths or Ceremonies will countervail. 2. It will but send many beyond Sea to defame you by their sufferings. 3. All foreign nations that favour their cause, will the more abhor you. 4. As *Tertullian* saith, *dum solitudinem faciunt, pacem vocant*; you will but make desolation and solitude, though you may call it *Unity* and *peace*: you cannot indeed do what you think to do: For thousands that will stretch their Consciences to conform, will hate you and your ways the more, and will be but such as were formerly called *Conformable Puritans*; and will have the more advantage to supplant you, by standing so much nearer to you. You know what a *Conformable Episcopal Parliament* did; and you know what an *Assembly of Conformable Divines* did, not long ago. 5. And if you could cut them all off, you cannot prevent the resurrection of them in their posterity. If ever blood would have extirpated dissenters, the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* had been rooted

out; when Historians tell us of so many hundred thousand killed, as is almost incredible. 6. The histories of cruelties are one of the greatest encreasers of the party for the time to come, in other lands and Generations. 7. And lastly, it is such kind of fame that it leaveth upon the agents, that few men that care for their surviving names, if they know it, can be willing of. It is no honour to *Pilate* to have his name in the Creed; nor to *Herod* to have his name in the Gospel; nor to *Nero* to have killed *Peter* and *Paul*, &c. No nor to those great Princes who killed such persons of their own Religion as *Seneca*, *Lucan*, *Cicero*, *Demosthenes*, *Cato*, &c. or that banished *Juvenal*, and many such more: Nor to the state or people that killed *Socrates*, &c. nor to the *Athenian* Tyrant from whom *Solon* and such others fled; no nor to the Roman Clergy that killed *Savonarola*, and tortured *Campanella*, and imprisoned *Galileus* and many the like: seeing, as *Sir Walter Raleigh* noteth (though not to his own escape) that Learning it self (and if joyned with great piety, *much more*) doth leave so great veneration on the minds of men, that though the owners of them prove to be faulty, yet posterity use to have dishonouring thoughts of those by whom they suffer.

It remaineth therefore that we must either *despair of ever having* Unity and Church concord, or else we must have it on other terms, than the masters of Prelacy contrive and endeavour it. One of the two must needs be chosen.

84. To have no *Church concord*, will bring as many evils as they themselves foretel when they write against Toleratation. The more to be blamed is that man whoever he be that will cut out mens tongues, and then write for the great necessity of speech, or that will put Colloquintida into the pottage, and then write of the danger of *purging* and *looseness*! If *offence*, and *division* must needs come,

come; yet wo to the Church because of *offences*, and wo to the Pastors by whom they come.

85. The greatest plague of our continued Divisions, will be (and is) the destruction of *Christian Love*, which is the essential mark of Christs disciples, and of absolute necessity to Salvation. If it were possible for such fiery and bloody books to be written against brethen as by some now are, or such scornful books as *Martyn Marprelate* and *Martyn Marpriest* wrote, without any *abatement of Love in themselves*, can they believe that they will do nothing to destroy it in *others*: can all of their *own* side read words that are written to make men odious, and not hate them: Or all of the other side, hear themselves reviled without the least temptation to uncharitableness? Is it more natural to water to quench fire, than for such books, and other effects of discord, to quench brotherly love? (Allowing the difference between a natural agent and a Voluntary). Nay the authors themselves do plainly profess that they do it to draw men to hate those that they write and speak against: and will scarce call them *Brethren* themselves, unless in a fit of special humility.

And if really they can possibly believe themselves, that they have lost none of their charity (if they ever had it) I suppose they scarce look that any one else should believe them; whilst, as *Persius* saith,

*Scintillant oculi, dicisque facisque quod ipse
Non sani esse hominis, non sanus juret Orestes.*

86. And it is no small mischief, that the King (and his Magistrates) should be so greatly wronged in his Subjects; to be put to Govern a *divided* people, when they might easily have an *united* people to govern. Besides the *comfort, ease and honour* of Ruling an *United* people, and the *sadness, difficulty* and reflections on the contrary,

Who can be sure, or imagine that we shall never have a foreign enemy, or that the King will never have any use for the Union and concord of his Subjects, for their readier and surer defence of him and of themselves? And who knoweth not how usually divided Cities and Kingdoms have been a prey to common enemies?

87. And if Bishops above all men, who think that *Unity* is the very reason of their order and Office, should have less wit for, or care of the Kingdom of Christ, than the Devil himself hath of his own, who knoweth that if it be divided it cannot stand, *Mat. 12.* what friends to Unity can such men be?

88. All the arguments for *Unity* and *Peace* which are made use of against Toleration by the Prelatists, and all the mischiefs of Division which they aggravate, if it prove that *they* are the greatest causes of Division, and hinderers of Church concord, do principally fall upon themselves. It is an easie song for any man to sing [*O the manifold mischiefs of Division*]; And a ready staff to strike any dissenter with, for him that can but get the handle. The Romanists use it with as much vehemency and Spleen against the Protestants. But all the question is, *who is the true cause?* and *what is the true cure?*

89. Either these writers and talkers think *something* or *nothing* to be sin, themselves: and either the imposition of what *they think unlawful* would make them Nonconformists, or it would not: If it would not, they are fitter Ministers for *Machiavel*, or *Vaninus* (nay *Vaninus* dyed for his Atheism) than for Christ. But if it would (as I will believe) were it not as easie then when they conformed not themselves, to write Volumes of the mischiefs of division and Schism, and disobedience to Laws, and of judging when we should obey, and of sects and toleration, as it is for them to do it against us?

90. Seeing then *all wise men* and *good men* are for *Unity*, and I have proved even to the purblind, that it is *Impossible* on the *present terms* (though I justify not all that maketh it impossible), It must needs be a plain resolved case that *other possible terms must be found out*; which is not difficult to do. O that it were as easie to make men *willing* of them.

91. *Unity may be had either with Uniformity or without it.*

92. *Unity with Uniformity* is never to be had (universally, really and durably) save only by placing *Uniformity* in the *Scripture* or *primitive simplicity*, even in a few things so needful, or so lawful, that no sober, judicious Christians can question them; yea such as the *weak* may be generally and easily satisfied in.

93. *Unity without Uniformity* (of several Churches) must be by *Toleration* in the points of *Uniformity* about things indifferent, leaving each Church to its proper liberty; but making those things *necessary to all*, which are *necessary* indeed to the *Unity of all*; which is the *Essentials*, or *plain great points* of Christianity, in which we are all one in Christ, the center of our Unity.

94. The best way is, 1. to *Unite in things necessary to all*, by necessary imposition (on such as are capable,) and 2. in things of *unquestionable conveniency*, by a prudent reduction of them to the primitive simplicity, and this not by necessitating Laws, which urge by great severity, but by such gentle corrections, as conveniencies, order and decency should be urged with: And, 3. if any will go further (as to Organs, Ornaments, Crossing &c.) to let them do it as a matter of liberty, (as the Cathedrals and Parish Churches now differ, and many Parish Churches each from other) without repining or breach of Charity; thus joyning all together according to the nature of the things.

95. He that will *Unite all mankind* must *Unite them* in somewhat that *all men are really agreed in*: And he that would *Unite all Christians*, must do it in something that *all Christians* are agreed in. And he that will *Unite all Protestants* (or *English Protestants*) must do it in somewhat which *all Protestants* (or *English Protestants*) are agreed in. For that which they *agree not in*, cannot be the *terms* of their agreement, unless you could undertake to change their judgements.

96. *All men* are agreed in *Reason*, and in the *Love of Nature* (for so far as men have put off *Nature*, they have put off *humanity*): Therefore the *Laws of Nature* and *Rules of equity* which *Reason* dictates, are the true *Jus gentium*, which is the ground of *Commerce* in the world, without which men live as *strangers* or as *foes*.

97. That which all *Christians* are agreed in, is *Christianity* and *Godliness*; that is, in their *one Baptismal Covenant*, and in that *one faith* or *Creed* which is there professed, and in the *Lords Prayer* and *Decalogue* as the summaries of things to be *Willed* and to be *Done*; In these I say, explicitly or particularly, and in the *holy Scriptures* generally, as far as they can understand them. *Greeks*, *Papists* and *Protestants* are agreed in all this; that is, 1. In the *Sacramental Covenant*, 2. In the three summaries of the *Credenda*, *Appetenda*, *Agenda*, 3. And in the *Canon* of the *holy Scriptures* in *General*, that is, in so many books as they are convinced are the true *Canon*, and in so much of the sense as they can understand. - And who can *Unite them* upon other and narrower terms than these?

98. All (*English*) *Protestants* are agreed, 1. In all the three forementioned formula's of *Christianity* (the *Sacramental Covenant*, the three summaries and the *Scripture*) 2. And in the *sufficiency* of this *Scripture*, as containing

taining all things necessary to salvation (though some may question some particular books) 3. And that *Magistrates* and *Pastors* are appointed to Govern the Church, one by the *sword* and the other by the *word* and *Keys*, according to this holy Scripture.

99. He that will make a Law that *all mankind* shall *Unite in Uniformity* of language, habit, temperament, dyet, &c. would set them more together by the ears. And he that would make a Law (as the Council of *Trent* hath done) that all Christian Churches shall *Unite* in an Oath of obedience to the Church of *Rome*, or in any of their superadded doctrines or Traditions, would but set the Churches in a greater flame: Before such dividing Councils as the *Lateran*, *Roman*, *Florentine*, *Tridentine*, &c. there was some hope of a restored concord; But now till the renunciation of their pretended *Infallibility* shall make way for their Repentance, it will be *impossible* to the end of the world; any otherwise than to confess that they grant the *truth* (though not the *sufficiency*) of *our Religion*, and that we approve of *so much of theirs*; and therefore resolve to live together without the exercises of *uncharitableness* and *cruelties*. And this much, no question should be done.

100. Accordingly those Pastors who will make Canons, that all English Protestants shall agree in subscriptions, professions, Oaths, forms, and Ceremonies which they *are not* agreed in, nor ever will be, do but say, we will break them more into pieces, and set them farther from each other than before.

101. If Socinians, Fanaticks or any Hereticks or Schismaticks, will subscribe the said summaries of Religion and the Scriptures, equivocally, while they falsely interpret them, the way is not presently to devise a new form of Articles for them to subscribe to; but maintaining the
Scri-

— Scriptures sufficiency, for the Rulers Civil and Spiritual, to call them to account whenever they prove that they utter or teach a doctrine contrary to the Scriptures which they subscribe, and to punish them according to the offence, or judge them to be offenders, when it's proved against them that they have offended. For, 1. Else (as *Hilary* complaineth of Creeds) there will be no end of new Articles and forms of subscription, if we must have new ones as oft as deceivers will juggle and equivocate with the Old. 2. And it will do no good, for they will equivocate still. If Scripture be not large and plain enough, neither will your Articles be so. 3. Offences require not new Laws, but new judgement and punishment.

C H A P. IX.

The true and easie terms of Unity and concord stated more particularly.

1. **I** Et every one subscribe his Assent and consent to the sacramental Covenant, and to the Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue, *verbatim*; and that he believeth all the Canonical Scriptures which the Christian Churches concordantly receive to be the word of God, of infallible truth, and that he will faithfully endeavour to understand and practise them. (Read *Chillingworths* Reasons at large for this cause).

2. Let every Church have its *proper faithful Pastors*; related to them and set over them by the *joynt consent* of the *Ordainers* and of the *flock*; (and all this under the Magistrates oversight and rule.)

3. Let

3. Let the Magistrate be the only Governor by the sword, and *Bishops and flock* be subject to him : and let him be the keeper of the *Peace* in all the Churches, And take all prudent care that both Pastors and people do their duties ; As he ruleth Physicians, Philosophers, and all other professions in his dominions.

4. Let there be Articles, or a Catalogue written of such great and clear and considerable points in Religion, which are not fit to be contradicted ; and because Pastors must know more, necessarily, than the people, and must not corrupt the sacred doctrine under pretence of preaching it, Let every Pastor before his Ordination be examined of his *understanding* of those articles ; and let there be a Law that no one shall *preach against any* of them. But be sure that they contain no *uncertain* or *unnecessary* things. We can conscionably forbear *preaching against* many points, which we cannot conscionably subscribe Assent or consent to in themselves.

5. Let men be punished according to the quality of their offence, who preach against the Government Civil or spiritual, and against the Laws and established order of the Churches ; or that rail and revile their brethern, and turn the preaching of the Gospel into the preaching down of mutual Love. After the first and second admonition, let the heretical and turbulent be avoided by the Church ; and let the Magistrate restrain them at his discretion as is meet.

6. Let Homilies or forms of preaching and Liturgies or forms of Prayer, &c. be imposed (at least ordinarily) on none but the less sufficient that need them ; and let able Pastors have liberty, sometime to use more, and sometime less according to the time, occasion and auditory. And let such forms have nothing in them *doubtful* or *needless* ; But for *matter, method and phrase*, be as much fitted to the *peoples case* and to the *Scripture* as may be done.

B b

7. Let

7. Let all other circumstances, which are variable according to variety of occasions, and belong to the office of the Pastor, be left to his discretion (as what Chapter, Psalm, tune, subject of preaching, method, &c.) so he be responsible for gross abuses and mal administration.

8. Let it be the work of every Pastor, to baptize, to preach and pray and administer the Lords supper ; refusing the grossly ignorant, Infidel, Heretick, and proved scandalous by gross sin, till such time as they Repent ; so be it that for his abuse of his power he be responsible to the Magistrate, or Ecclesiasticks after mentioned : Also let him Catechise, visit the sick, and personally instruct the ignorant, exhort the obstinate, and comfort the weak.

9. Let neighbour Churches keep such correspondence, as is necessary to their concord, that he that is cast out of one Church, or that communicateth with it, may not be causelessly used contrarily by others. And those Pastors and Churches that shall prove heretical or impious, are to be admonished by the rest, and disowned if they continue impenitent.

10. If it be thought meet by Christian Rulers that these neighbour Pastors have often meetings or Synods, they are to be improved only for concord and unity and corroboration of all, and for the edification of the younger and weaker sort of Ministers.

11. If it seem good to the Magistrate, that any one Pastor in every Church have the chief oversight of that Church, or any one be the constant moderator in the Synods, or any one in a Diocese or Province have a General inspection over all the Ministers and Churches ; Let none be forced to swear him obedience, nor to *profess* or *subscribe* to the *Lawsfulness* of his place ; but only *Actually to obey him*, upon such moderate penalties that hinder not the Gospel. And if this Prelate claim only the *Spiritual power*, let him not exer-

exercise it as a *Prince* without the Counsel of the Pastors ; and let him go no further than the *spiritual power goeth*, which reacheth but to *Conscience* and *consenters* ; And let not the Magistrate be *his executioner with the sword* ; nor put any forcing power of the sword into the Clergies hands. But if the King will needs make Clergymen Magistrates, let it be *declared* so, that they and their Courts do use Civil power in Ecclesiastical matters, only as the Kings officers, and then we shall readily obey them. And let no lay Chancellors or others exercise any of the spiritual power of the Keys.

12. Let all Ministers and people swear or promise Allegiance, Loyalty and fidelity to the King, and take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to that end ; and be punished according to Law if they offend, either against the person or honour of the King, or against any inferior Magistrates, or fellow subjects, or against the quiet, peace or safety of the Kingdom.

C H A P. XI.

Of Puritans as vulgarly called, or of scorning them, or the quality and faults of those called our followers, mentioned by the Politician and the Debate-maker and others, and of the Ministers themselves.

I. OUr judgement is, that the bare name of a *Christian*, and outward forms and words and ceremonies, without true *faith*, and Love and *Obedience*, a spiritual and heavenly *Heart and life*, will save no man, (that hath the use of reason) : But that wicked nominal *Christians* are in that more miserable than the Infidel Indians, that they

are greater abusers of mercy, and greater Hypocrites.

2. Spiritual knowledge is not born with the children of Christians, but it must cost as much labour in us to teach, and in them to learn, the doctrine of the Gospel, and the nature and work and hopes of Christianity, perhaps as if they were the children of some heathens. Their *birth*-privilege without our labour will not make them wise and faithful and obedient Christians.

3. The most among us are so dull of understanding, and so averse to spiritual and heavenly things, and so drowned in sin, and taken up with the flesh and the world, that the cure of their souls is a very great and difficult work, and must by us and them be carried on at leisure, by great diligence and usually by slow degrees.

4. True Grace and virtue will not (usually) supply the want of learning or Urbanity, and of an Academick or ingenuous education; nor will make men of Rustick wits and breeding, to have compt, polite and elegant speech: Though yet it may suffice to save their souls.

5. Those that have such Academical education, and polite wits, and expression, and can congruously discourse of Civil and Religious things, and have not the foresaid lively *faith, Love and obedience* to God, nor a heavenly mind and life, are miserable persons, and cannot be saved in that condition, however they be esteemed in the world.

6. Where both inward holiness and learning and utterance concur, it maketh men most serviceable to God and the Church, and an honour to their Religion.

7. For want of clear parts and good expression, many Christians excellent in Grace, (that is, in *faith, Love and obedience*) do dishonour the holy things which they discourse of, and to captious proud Wits do make themselves off ridiculous and contemptible.

8. He that hath spent ten or twenty or thirty years in studies, and among books and learned men, and is pufft up because he can speak more congruously than an honest plowman, that never learnt more than to write and read, nor perhaps so much, or because he can talk more pertinently and composedly, than ordinary good women, that could never speak or write true English, may next be proud that he is not an infant. And he that on such accounts despiseth the honest vulgar Christians, that perhaps have much more *faith, Love and obedience* than himself, is more foolish than the *East-Indians* that made a laughing-stock of the most learned *Jesuits*, that had but begun to learn their language, because they spake it brokenly in their preaching to them.

9. We encourage none in the least of their weaknesses; but do our best to encrease their understanding and expressive faculty: But we labour first and much more about the greatest needfullest things; to make them holy, and save their souls.

10. He that ever made conscience of labouring faithfully for souls, cannot choose but know, how very hard a work it is to bring the vulgar to a true understanding of their Baptism, the Creed, the Lords Prayer and the Decalogue, (yea the very servants of our own families): And as Arch-Bishop *Usher* told King *James* in his Sermon on *Eph. 4. 3.* Let the best and learnedst of them try it when they will, they shall find what skill (and industry) is necessary to teach the people these principles that we all agree in: And to reproach them and us, for *incongruities of speech*, long before these necessary things can be learned, is to reproach the boys of the lowest form, and the *Master* with them, because they are not accurate Græcians.

11. It is in most places but the far smaller part of the people, that we can ever bring to so much as aforesaid; And the greater part in most places are still ignorant and unwilling to learn, or meer worldlings and servants to the flesh, and great neglecters of all that is higher than their belly and their eye-light.

12. If the Great and Rich be bred up to better utterance, they are very happy persons among them, that are not more worldly, sensual and prophane; yea and more ignorant too of the *matters* of salvation, how knowing forever as to *words*.

13. That Pastor who preferreth this ungodly sort before the faithful now described, and that gathereth together all the weak expressions of the later, to make them ridiculous to the former; or (if with no such intent) doth proclaim them persons of a *foolish Religion*, because they cannot talk so wisely as they ought about religion, and this at a time and in a manner, as is likest to harden the sensual in the opinion that their case is the better, and that learning and labouring to be seriously religious, is but a foolish fanciful thing; I say, that Pastor is ——— Let his conscience hereafter tell him what.

14. When there is no known way, (but by the *Schools*, or by a *Miracle*) for the world of the vulgar to come to the *higher* form of wisdom but by the *lover*; nor to come to *Heaven* but by such *weak beginnings*; And when Grace as well as Nature beginneth with infant unutterable desires and groans, *Rom.* 8. 26. and with an *Abba* father, *Gal.* 4. 6. (which our heart-searching father understandeth, *Rom.* 8. 27.) And when all Christs Disciples must enter first as little children into the lowest form (*Matth.* 18. 3. & 28. 19, 20.) And when the Apostles own followers were *dull of hearing*, and after long teaching (which should have made them fit to be Teachers)

ers) had need still to learn the principles, and to be fed with childrens milk, *Heb. 5. 11, 12, &c.* And few ever get above the lower rank, which all first enter; I say whenas all this is so, and certainly so, to make these lower Christians a scorn, as being of a *foolish religion*, and to discourage them, and disgrace their rank unnecessarily, is to endeavour to drive all serious Religion out of the world, and to keep men from salvation, and to brandish their flaming swords at the entrance of Paradise, to keep men from the tree of life ——— But for the Schoolmaster himself to deride the lower form which with patience and condescension he is obliged by office and salary to teach; This is beyond a strangers crime.

15. We tell them of their weakneses and faults as truly and plainly as Reproachers do, though we do it in way of Love and not of wrath and discouraging words; which even fathers are forbidden to use to their children, *Eph. 6. 4.* See *Baxters Directions to weak Christians*, and his *Character of a sound Christian*: and his *Life of Faith*.

16. If any of them grow Proud with their Ignorance, we deal more sharply and severely with them, as knowing the odious nature and tendency of that sin.

17. We take not men to be good because they are not conformable; nor do we disown any of the people for their conformity to your worship, Ceremonies and discipline, as if they were not the members of Christ; or were to be *despised* or *censured* by others. But instead of speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after us (as seducers do, *Act. 20. 30.*) we labour to speak the words of truth and soberness, and keep to the form of sound and ancient doctrine, (even that which *semper, ubique & ab omnibus recepta est*, as *Lirinensis*. Characterizeth Catholick verity) and to avoid novelties and vain janglings and inflaming the hearers against Bishops,
Litur-

Liturgy or Ceremonies, or against each other ; But rebuke those that for such differences *censure* or *despise* each other, *Rom.* 14. 1, 2, 3. And exhort them to reverence and obedience to Governors, especially Loyalty to the King, to Love to all men, and to Unity with the whole Catholick Church, and to peace among themselves.

18. Our Doctrine is published to the world so fully that no sober man can question us as a Party for it; but if any individual err, he must be named, and proved faulty. For our very Religion is nothing but the Law of *Nature* and the *holy scriptures* (which we profess to the Papists that would have more, and to all the world :) And we subscribe the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the Articles, as our Explication of the sense of Scripture in those points : Though *Gods word* only be our Religion in the Rule, and we profess to disclam all *additions* or *diminutions*, yet not all *explications* of our understanding the meaning of it ; And therefore are still ready to give such explicatory Professions to any that suspect or accuse us of error. And so the *Westminster* Assembly did in their Confession, as all the Reformed Churches have done. But our Religion in the *Divine Rule* we take for infallible ; but our *explications* we take for the corrigible words of fallible men ; and as we will take no *other mens* for *infallible*, so we are ready to retract and correct whatever shall be proved faulty in *our own*.

19. Much less can we boast that *no Minister* among us doth ever speak or write *incongruously*, or hath any imperfection or misapprehension of any point or method in Theology : we rather *wish* than *hope* for such perfection here. But besides the foresaid Confessions, our Professed Doctrine is known by many printed Catechisins and Treatises, such as Mr. *Balls* Cat. and Mr.

Gonges,

Gouges, &c. *Amesii Medulla & Conscientie Cas.* Dudl. *Fenneti Theolog.* *Sohnius*, *Baxters* Reasons of the Christian Religion: And our notions of Godliness and Christianity, in his *Character of a sound Christian*, and *his life of faith*, which shew whom we take for the best Christians. And our Popular way of preaching which we like, you may see in old Mr. *Hildershams* Lectures, and in Mr. *R. Allens* Victory of faith, and other writings, and in Mr. *Anthony Burgess's* Lectures, and many other such; And our exposition of the Scriptures, in Mr. *Gatakers Annotat.* on *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, and some other parts, of those *Annot.* and in Dr. *Manton* on *James*, and in *Calvin* and *Beza*, and other such Nonconformists: And our management of Controversies, in *Amesii Bellarm. enervat.* Cartwright against the Rhemists, *Chamier*, *Sideel*, *Rivuet*, Dr. *John Reynolds*, &c. Of such as these we are not ashamed, though none of them were (as we suppose) Prelatical.

20. We are so far from believing our selves, that the soundness of a mans judgement or excellency of his parts in other matters, hath any necessary connexion to his Conformity or Nonconformity, that we can hardly believe that any of the most fiery of our Reproachers that is sober, doth himself believe it, when the world hath so large a proof in the effects, of very great Learning, judiciousness and worth in many of both parts.

21. And so far are we from thinking that no Ministers that conform not are defective, weak or imprudent in expressions, or injudicious in some Controversies of Religion, that we are past all doubt, that the far greatest part of the Clergy in the world are so; and alas, much worse than so! And that it is the great numbers of ignorant, weak, injudicious, or proud, self-seeking, Carnal, Covetous Pastors, that is the great plague and calamity of the Christian Church through all the earth:

The great cause of the ignorance and ungodliness and unprofitableness of the people, and the dominion of sensuality, and the increase of Atheism, Infidelity and Heresie, and of the great divisions and confusions among Christians in East and West, is a Clergy that is either so ignorant as to be *unable*, or so ungodly as to be *unwilling*, or sloathful about their masters work ; or so *proud* and *worldly* and *malignant*, as to set up their own Domination, wealth and will, as the Rule of order and unity, and to account their fleshly interest to be the interest of Christ, and to hate and persecute all those as schismaticks and disobedient, that will not serve such sinful ends.

22. Therefore in the midst of such a Clergy that is the *worlds Calamity*, as we bless God for the worth both of the *Conformable* and *Nonconformable* in these three Kingdoms, and in many other of the Reformed Churches ; so we think it to be the *wisdom*, *duty* and *interest* of the *worthy* of *each opinion* (in these points) to unite and strengthen one another , and on both sides to disown the *insufficient* and *ungodly* ones, rather than to seek to strengthen themselves by numbers of the vile and intolerable (that will be their shame and weakening at last), or to weaken their brethren as Adversaries, either by *censuring*, *reproaching*, *silencing* or *suppressing* them.

23. And in such a world, we take it for a great honour that is done to the Nonconformists in this land, when we read such accusations, as of an *incongruous expression*, and an *invalid argument* about a Ceremony, or such like ; And that such as by their writings tell the world, that they want not will to open the worst, do charge them with no worse crimes than they do ; And also that they are not silenced at this time, for Treason, or rebellion, or drunkenness, or swearing, or incontinency, or railing, or for insufficiency or idleness, or for seldom preaching, or for plu-

plurality of benefices, or nonresidency, or any such immoralities as these; but because they dare not deliberately give it under their hands, that no person in three Kingdoms is obliged to endeavour the alteration of the present Prelatical Diocesan Government, that vowed to God, in his place and calling to endeavour it, by a certain Oath illegally imposed on the people; And because they dare not Ministerially in the Congregation declare that they Assent and Consent to all things contained in and prescribed by three books; and because some dare not be reordained in words, that make them first Deacons that were ordained Presbyters, and such like.

24. The most credible way to shew which party is the *foolisher* and the *ungodlier*, is to make strict Laws against an *Ignorant, insufficient, vicious, sensual, scandalous and negligent* Ministry; and whoever is proved guilty, of which side soever, let them be cast out: This we refuse not; this we would earnestly beg upon our knees.

25. We are so far from desiring the disgrace even of vicious or worldly Pastors, that have laudable parts, that we thank God that the learning even of such hypocrites, is made any way serviceable to the Church; And we would promote and not cloud their due reputation. But we had far rather have *experienced*, truly *Godly Pastors*, to watch over the peoples souls, as in many and great respects to be preferred.

26. And he that writeth this professeth for himself, that when the people cry out [*We cannot in Conscience hear an ignorant man, a silly empty sayer of a Sermon, nor a Ministry that openly justifieth Perjury, or renounceth a necessary reformation, &c.*] if he had not a far larger charity to stop such persons mouths with, and to hide or excuse greater faults, than such as some now aggravate,

he must be oftener silent, and a greater Separatist, than now he is. I confess I would have them to use some *little Charity*, who have need of much; And till they have better wash't off the accusation of a leprosie, I would not have them too loud in the defamation of him that hath a boile. I justifie not the Accusers clamour, but still rebuke them: but I as little justifie the ingenuity of such, as have skill to aggravate a weakness, and not to avoid a crime.

This was
written
when I li-
ved out of
London.

27. And he further sincerely professeth, that (being almost a constant hearer of their Ministers,) if of many almost and many that he hath heard and been under in certain years or months past, he could have had the happiness to have lived under one that were but near as judicious, and able to manage holy things, for matter, method and expression, as many of those plowmen and poor shopkeepers be, that are now called, *Our Nonconformable followers*, he should have greatly rejoiced in the peoples felicity and his own. And for the homely stile so much complained of I never heard one Presbyterian use such homely words and similies as good Bishop *Latimer* in his Sermons useth.

28. Yet we are so far still from thinking that the *better sort* of *Christians* have not many faults, that it is one of the greatest and most continual sorrows of our hearts, to think how too little they excel the *better part* of *unbelievers*, and how great and common failings are amongst them, and how much their faults do dishonour their blessed Master and holy profession: and what a hinderance this is to the conversion of the Infidel and Heathen world: and what a malignant influence it hath upon the Church by corrupting, troubling and dividing it; and upon the peace of Kingdoms many times, and always on their own peace and true felicity: Especially through the common sin of being *overconfident of their own opinions*.

29. But

29. But we perceive that their faults are but the relicts of that which is common to the world, and predominant in the unsanctified: If any of them err about Church Communion or discipline or infant baptism, we would gladly heal their error; but we account it not so mortal, as the common practical error of the ungodly, who think a sensual worldly life to be better for them than a holy life, and value earth above heaven, and the body above the soul, and the creature above the Creator; and the pleasures of *time*, before those of eternity. And the very sin of *self-conceitedness* we find so natural and common to *mankind*, that in all Civil or worldly matters, it is hard to meet with those that in their mistakes are not still confident of the rightness of their own apprehensions: And in matters of *Religion* even old ignorant sinners, that know not the Creed, do usually think themselves too wise to be taught, and are as stiffe and obstinate in their most erroneous conceits as the grossest sectaries.

30. Therefore as the very Papists difference *mortal* sin from *Venial*, and we approve of the distinction as it signifieth the sin which is inconsistent with spiritual life and Love, and so an evidence of a state of death, and that which is consistent, and therefore pardoned.] And as God himself who more hateth sin than any of us, doth yet love and pardon and save those who have no other sin; but what consisteth with a predominance of *faith*, *Love* and *obedience*, and doth not equal such with the *fleshly* worldly and *ungodly*; even so must we his Ministers in imitation of our heavenly father.

31. And we the less wonder that there are more differences among the zealous sort in matters of Religion, than among the ungodly who really have no Religion, but are indifferent to all, which letteth them
quiet.

quietly enjoy their sin : For men that highliest value any thing, are likest to be temptred to strive about it. If you cast gold and jewels in the street, *men* are liker to fight and quarrel for them, than dogs or swine. We are glad they *seriously value* truth, though we are sorry that they cannot more clearly and concordantly understand it.

32. If we thought that meer *Civil good neighbourhood, and the common state and life of men in their unrenewed naturals*, were better, or as good as the state and life of *imperfect believers, with all their troublesome mistakes and failings*, we would next become humble Petitioners to Authority, that they would put down both Prelates and Presbyters, and take their lands and Tythes into their own hands, and employ them to some better use ; and that they would shut up the Church doors, and banish the Clergy as the plague and troublers of the land, that do but vex the world with fables, and will not let men live in peace. For experience assureth us that *Perfection* is not the state of Christians in this life.

33. Nor can we think that it is any real disgrace to Christianity, Religiousness or the Scriptures, that men are so faulty and of so many minds, any more than it is a disgrace to *Health* that men are *sick*, or to *food* that some are *weak*, or to *wisdom* that most have little of it ; or to a *Schoolmaster*, that his Scholars have defects, and various degrees of knowledge and apprehension. And if we would concur with them that hence argue against the common use of Scripture and Religion, because men *abuse* them, or *imperfectly* receive them, we must much more condemn *humane Reason* it self, and wish that all the world were beasts ; because there is nothing so troubleth the peace of Church and State, nothing so much causeth rebellions, treasons, contentions, injustice, and all the villany of the world, as *imperfect and abused Reason*.

But

But we know that nothing in all the world is so contrary to Rebellion, Pride, Contention, and all sin, as *Christ* and *Religion* and the *holy Scriptures*: and that if men be *bad*, it is not because they have *too much Religion* or holiness, but because they have *none*, or else *too little*; And that it is *more* and not *less* that must cure them, if ever they be cured.

34. We take it therefore to be the duty of all Christians, freely to confess their sins, and to take their faults to themselves; and for Ministers to lay them plainly on the persons that are guilty, lest they should be thought to be the product of the Christian Religion: And that the partiality of those that justify all or any of the crimes or faults of Christians, doth intimate blasphemy against *Christ*, as if he taught, or justified such things: And therefore the holy Scriptures do so plainly open the sins even of good men, to teach us to take our shame unto ourselves, and not to cast it on *Christ* and *Religion*, which most condemn all sorts of sin.

35. And sin is so far from being ever the better, for being found in a *Noah*, a *David*, or a *Peter*, that it hath manifold aggravations in such, which it hath not in other sorts of men. And it is no less abhorred of God, who is not reconcileable to the sins of any: However we still know that the failings of a froward and careless child or friend, are not so mortal as the contempt of a despiser, or the malignity of an enemy.

36. We do also with lamentation confess, that besides the multitude of common hypocrites which are in all the Christian Churches, who by open sensuality and prophaness do shew that they dissemble in professing Christianity, there are also many *Hypocrites* who profess a greater zeal and forwardness in Religion, who at the heart are Lovers of this present world, and slaves to the flesh, and use Religious shews and forms, but to quiet their Consciences.

sciences with a deceitful hope, that they may have heaven for a reserve, when they can keep the world no longer. And these are the men that most dishonour religion by pride and Rebellions and scandals and heresies, who indeed are numbred by the searcher of hearts amongst the enemies of religion.

37. According'y we do believe there are many among the Conformists and Nonconformists, of both the fore-described sorts, (*faulty true Christians* and *hypocrites*): And that many of the real faults and follies, mentioned by the Books which are too imprudently and unjustly written as to the manner, are to be found among such persons: And that it is the duty of such faulty persons, to learn and take reproof, even from the faultiest reprover; and to take heed of that snare of Satan, who by the reprovers faultiness would tempt them to excuse or justify themselves, and to reflect on others as the greater sinners.

38. As Christ was crucified between two thieves, so hath the Church from the beginning suffered between *Malignant worldly proud persecutors*, and *Factionous Fanatick self-conceited dividing Zealots*: We shall not wonder therefore, if it be so still: Neither of them is a new thing in the world.

39. These two sorts of enemies have still used by their *extreams*, to increase their several sins by their fierce opposition to each other: The Sectary justifieth all his *divisions* and *separations* by saying [light hath no communion with darkness; nor sincere believers with proud, profane, ignorant and malignant persecuting usurpers, that obtrude themselves on the flock of Christ against their wills]: And the other extream hath been used to justify their idleness, ungodliness and cruelties, by saying [These rebellious, factious, disobedient people, are enemies to peace and order, and commit all insolent villanies against

against their Pastors, while they account themselves the only Saints.] And so while neither side observeth that which is good in the other, but both sides aggravate the evil (with which they are both too much corrupted) they keep up wars and contentions in the Church, and make one another *mad* and *miserable*, the one sort *cenfuring*, and the other *defpifing*, as they in *Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3.* And in their rage the sober ftanders by are reviled and falſly accused by both, as the intereſt of each party dictates to their spleen; And muſt patiently ſuffer the reproaches of their fury.

40. It is needful that the King be the Peace-keeper impartially between them both, and that he reſtrain the inſolencies and furies of both; For both are troublers of the common peace. And though neither ſide be ſo bad as the other maketh them, yet neither of them are fit for unlimited liberty; Much leſs to be armed with the ſword, to exerciſe their fury on diſſenters.

41. And when diſcontents grow among the Secular ſubjects, and Civil diſtempers in the State, each of theſe parties are fit for the Great ones that head the ſeveral Factions to make uſe of: And by their railing at one another, they become Bellows of the common flames.

42. And it is one of the Devils policies to urge Statesmen to draw the Clergy into their Factions, that which ſide ſoever gets the better, one part of the Miniſtry may not only be ſilenced and uſeleſs, but be made a reproach to their Profeſſion, as the Incendariies and ſeditious troublers of the State.

43. It is a great injury to Chriſtianity and the ſouls of men, when diſagreeing Statesmen will not ſuffer the Clergy to live quietly by them, but will conſtrain or tempt them to intereſs themſelves in any of their Factions;

(except in the necessary discharge of their Allegiance and Fidelity to their King and Countrey) And will force them that are unstudied in humane Laws, to decide those State-controversies, even by assertive Oaths, which Lawyers and Parliaments cannot agree about: And it is a more heinous cruelty and inuice, when after all this, they will pretend that their *political differences* are controversies in *Religion*, when it is not so, and will thence denominate *parties* in the *Church*.

44. The difference between the aforesaid *Extreams* (the formal and malignant persecutors, and the censorious Fanatick Sectaries) is more in the *manner* and *way* of Exercise, than in their *Principles* themselves. For they are both agreed in the main, against the true *nature* and *principles* of Christian Love and Concord. They both think others more *odious* and *less amiable* than they are: And they both are possessed with an envious zeal (which S. James saith is *earthly, sensual, and Devilish*, James 3. 15. introducing *confusion and every evil work*); a zeal, I say, to make each other seem *odious* also to all others: And though they understood not the sense or transcript of their own dungeon hearts, yet the children of light can easily understand that the Epitome or Contents of the Doctrine of their learned writings and discourse is but this [*My adversaries are not amiable, but odious*] And the sum of the application is [*Therefore we exhort you not to love them, but to hate them*]. But here now they part, and the side that is uppermost useth, as the more particular application [*Ergo, we pray you, silence, imprison, banish, hang or burn them, and curse and excommunicate, and depose those temporal Lords that will not do it, as Concil. Later. sub Innoc. 3. Can. 2, 3.*] The other side say [*Avoid all Church Communion with them as wicked persecutors; and hold no communion with any of their side or way*]. So that
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the difference between these *Love-killers* and *peace-haters* is but in the top branches [*Hate and destroy them*] faith the one side, [*Hate and avoid them*] faith the other side.

45. The true servants of Christ do differ from them both, not in approving either of their furies, nor in falling in as parties with either of the factions ; but in living in *Love* as the servants of the God of *Love*, and making *Love* their *end* and *work*, and addicting themselves to promote it in the world ; by observing all that is good in all others, and not searching needlessly after their faults, nor censoriously, enviously or malignantly aggravating them , but hoping the best till the worst be proved, and bearing with the infirmities of the weak, remembering that we also may be tempted, *Gal. 6. 1, 2.* And if possible as much as in them lieth, living peaceably with all men, *Rom. 12. 18.*

46. If one side (that are all for the dead image of Christianity, and are not able to endure the *serious practice* of their own profession) would cease their Hypocrisie, and either *be* what they *profess*, or *profess* to be what they are, and would *value* the *soul* as well as the adorned *Corps* ; And if the other side would lay by their *pride* and *ignorance*, and know how little indeed they know, and remember that in this Corporeal world, Religion must have a *Body* as well as a *soul*, the Church would the better escape them both.

47. *Serious heartiness* in prayer is more acceptable to God, than formall babling in the most decent words ; And God will bear with the rude expressions of his children, that have sincere desires. But yet before others our words also must be well ordered, that we be not a hindrance to them, and a shame to the work which we have in hand.

48. And in preaching, as affected *jangling*, and starched